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FULL TEXT OF THE GERMAN PEACE TREATY

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CURRENT HISTORY

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**Official Text, (as
signed) complete, of
the GERMAN PEACE
TREATY and League
of Nations Covenant
—The Treaty With
Poland—The Franco-
Anglo-American Treaties**

The Nations in July

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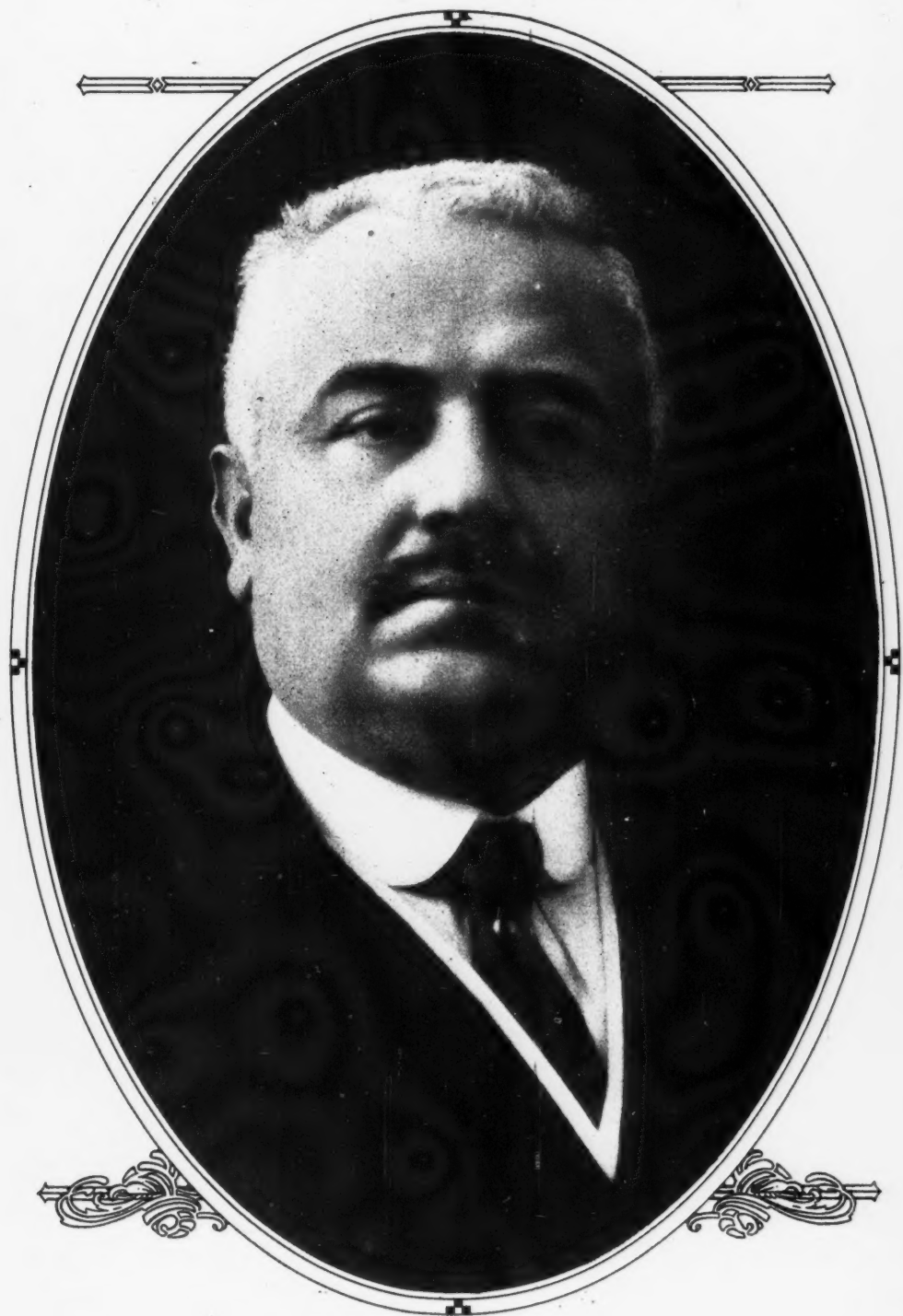
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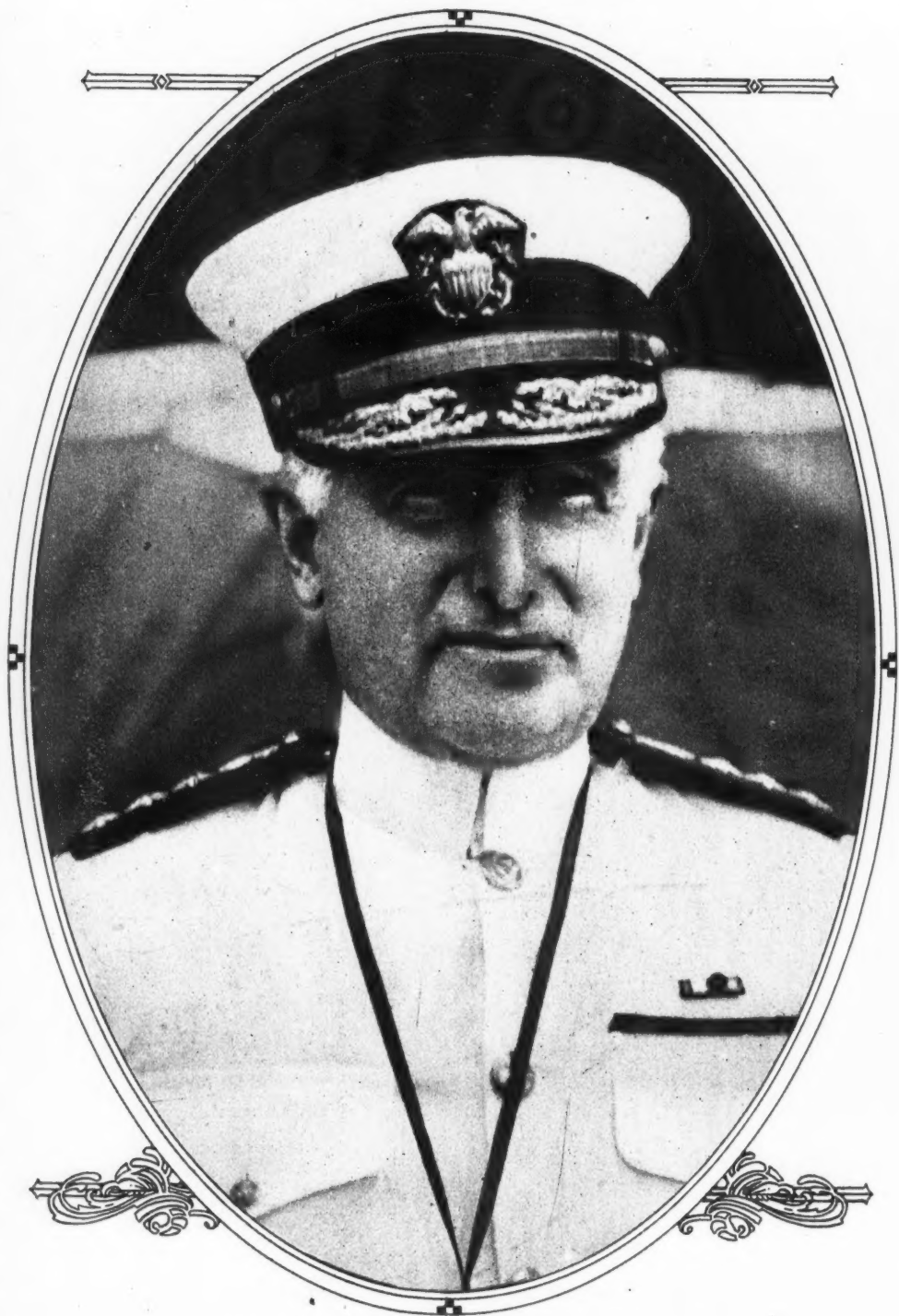
FEMININE FUR SHOP—Fourth Floor

FRANCESCO SAVERIO NITTI



New Italian Premier, succeeding Vittorio Orlando.

ADMIRAL HENRY B. WILSON



Former commander of American fleet in French waters, who succeeds Admiral Mayo as commander of Atlantic Fleet.

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GUSTAV ADOLF BAUER



Premier of the new German Cabinet which agreed to sign the Peace Treaty.

THE TWO GERMAN DELEGATES WHO SIGNED THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES



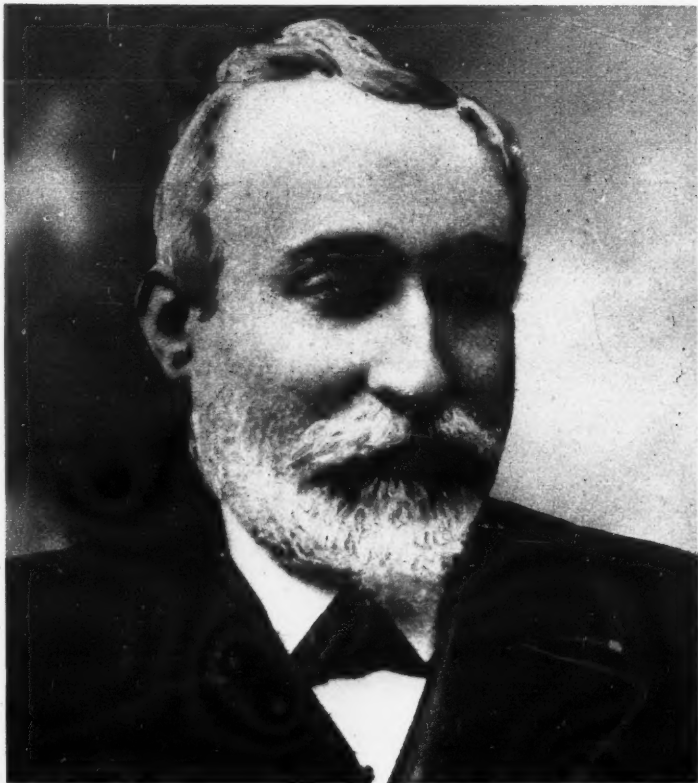
Dr. Johannes Bell, Minister of Colonies.

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Dr. Hermann Mueller, Secretary of Foreign Affairs.

NEW POLITICAL LEADERS OF BRAZIL AND SPAIN



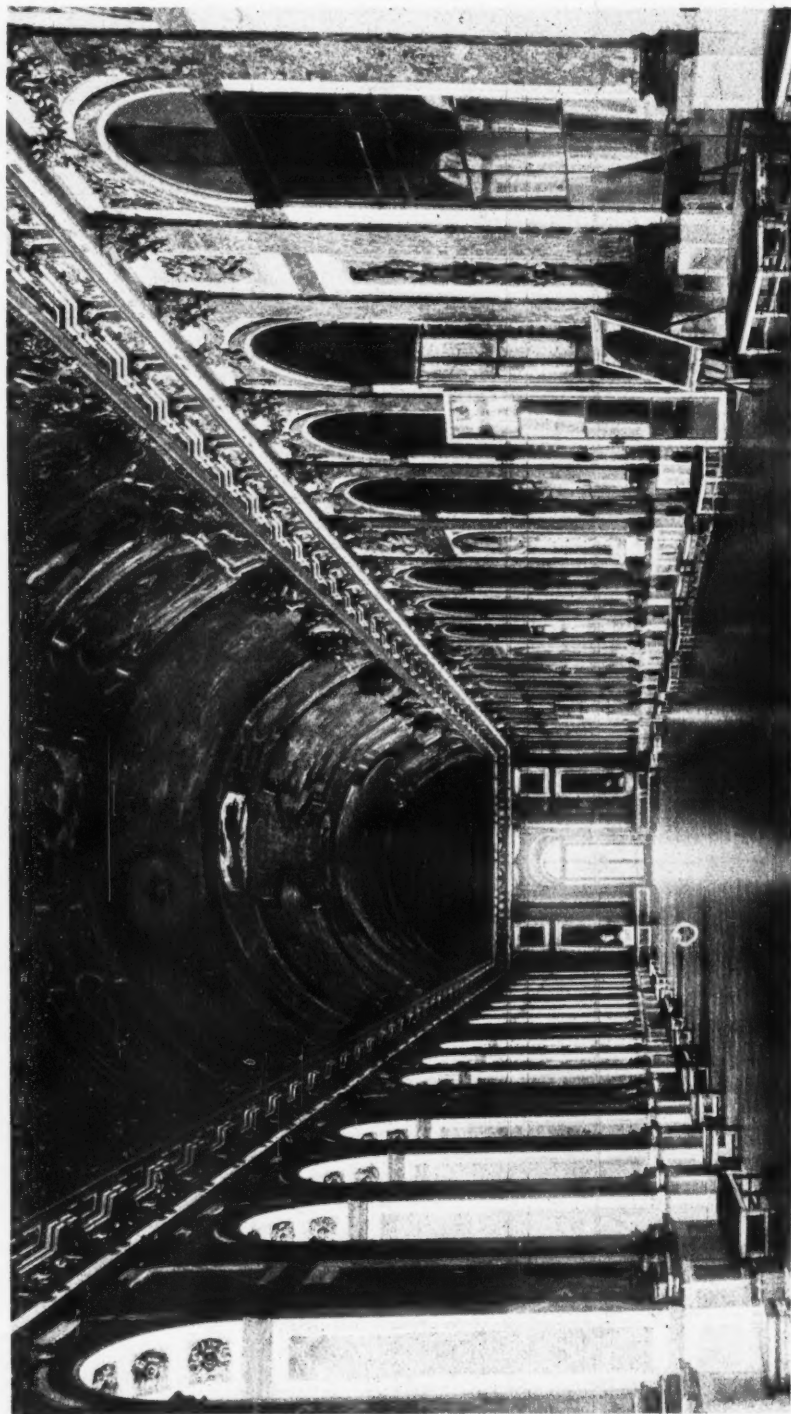
Antonio Maura, new Premier of Spain, succeeding Romanones.



Dr. Epitacio Pessoa, President-elect of Brazil.

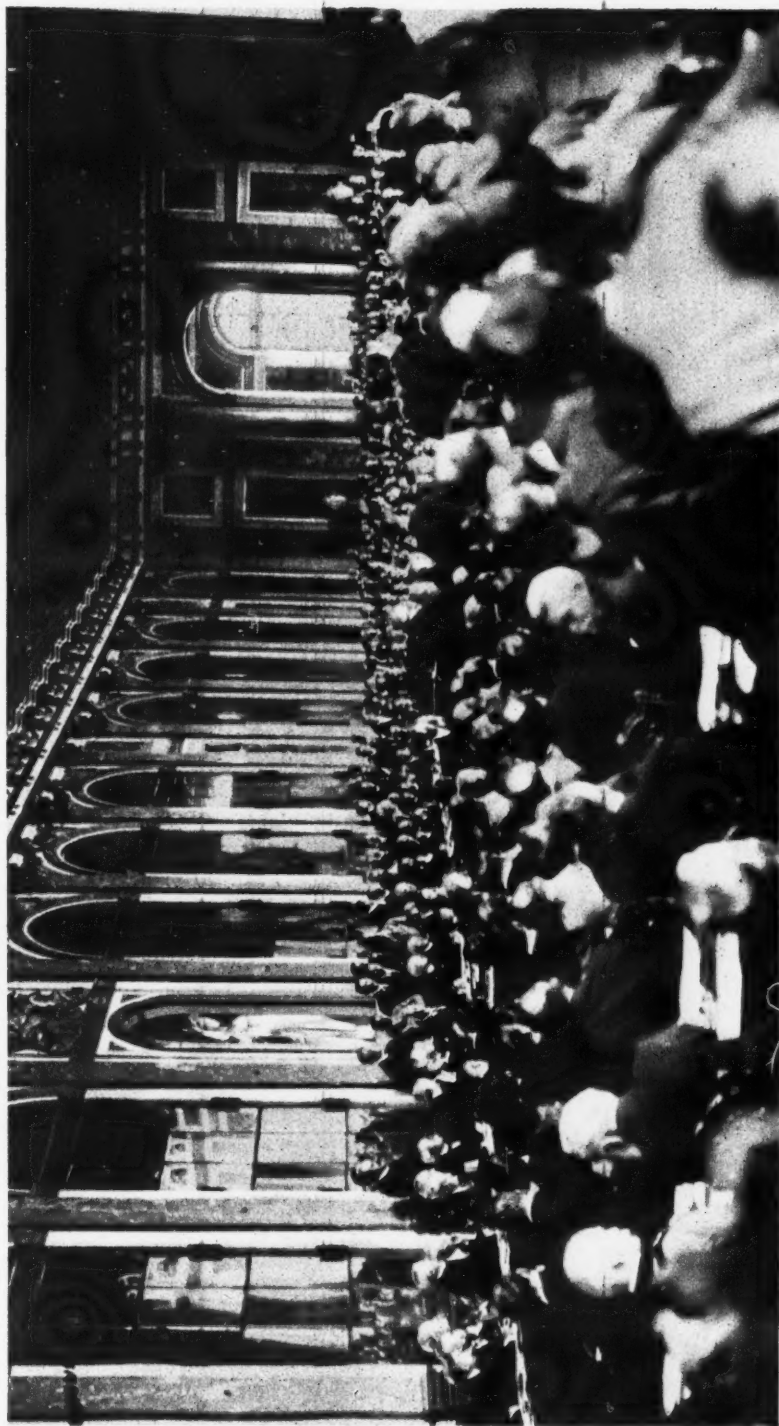
(© Harris & Ewing)

HALL OF MIRRORS, VERSAILLES, WHERE TREATY WAS SIGNED



In this historic hall, surrounded by 306 mirrors, where Wilhelm I. was proclaimed German Emperor in 1871, the Peace Treaty with Germany was signed June 28, 1919.

SIGNING OF THE GERMAN PEACE TREATY AT VERSAILLES



Memorable scene in the Hall of Mirrors June 28, 1919, when the German and allied delegates signed the treaty that ended the war. The "Big Four" are in the left background near the marble statue.

(© International Film Service)

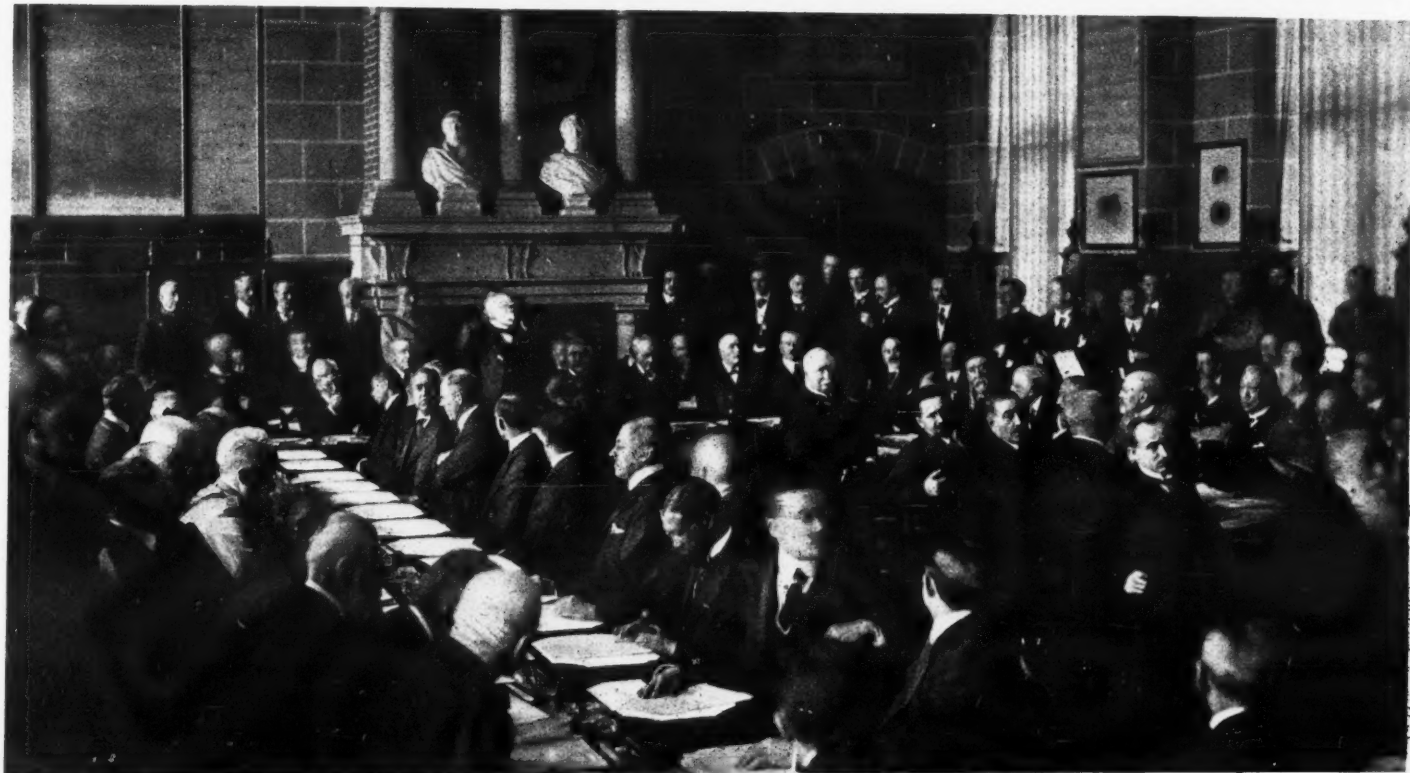
PRESIDENT WILSON IN DEVASTATED BELGIUM



The President is seen walking to his automobile after visiting the ruins of the famous Cloth Hall at Ypres, Belgium.

(© International Film Service)

DELIVERY OF THE PEACE TREATY TO THE AUSTRIAN DELEGATES



Premier Clemenceau addressing the Austrian delegates at St. Germain-en-Laye prior to delivery of treaty terms
June 2, 1919.

(© Underwood & Underwood)

A GERMAN DEMONSTRATION AGAINST THE TREATY TERMS



The Wilhelmstrasse, Berlin, choked with vast throng denouncing peace terms as originally drawn. Placard at right reads: "To the devil with this hellish peace!"



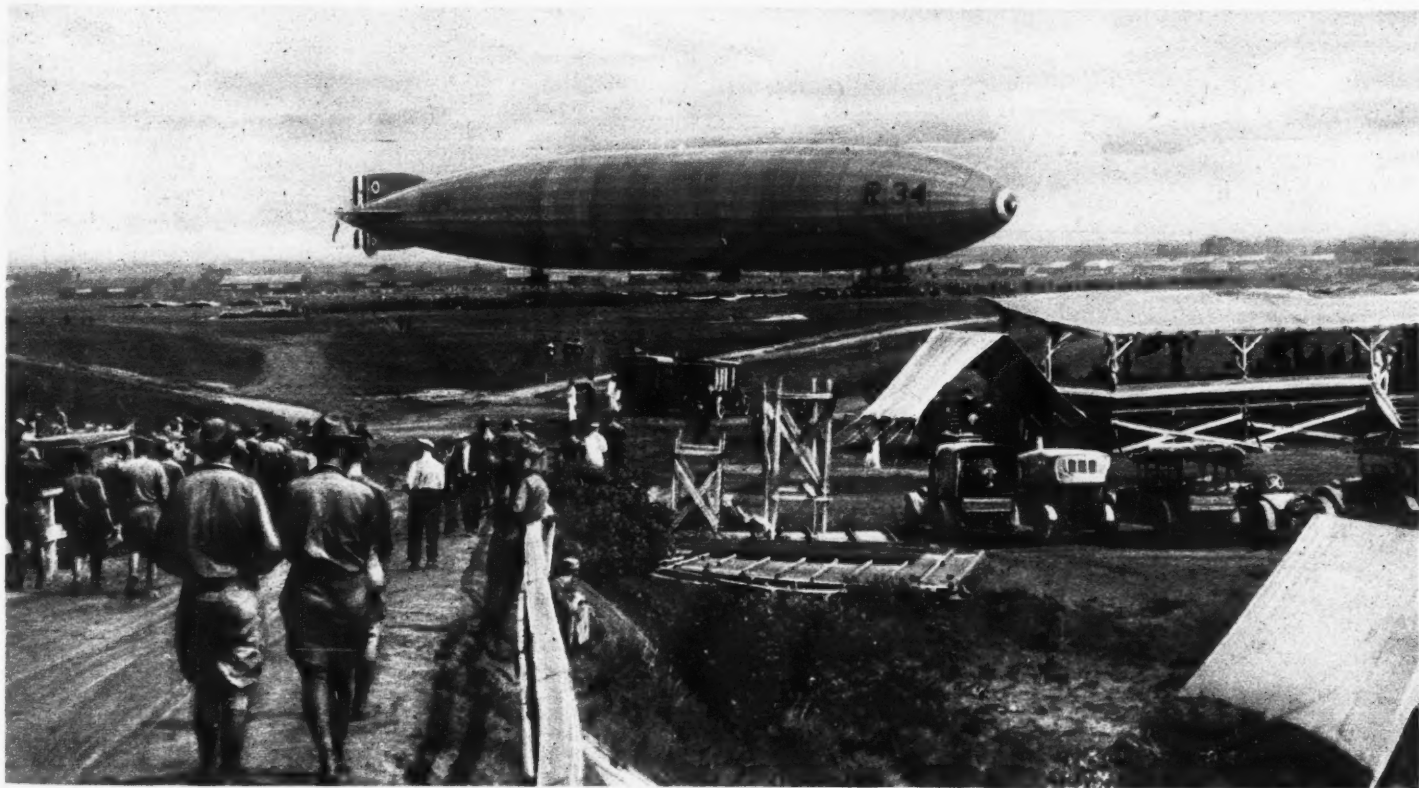
**IRISH-AMERICAN
DELEGATES AND
SINN FEIN LEAD-
ERS IN DUBLIN.**

Front row, left to right: Count Plunkett, ex-Governor Edward F. Dunne of Illinois, Professor Edward de Valera, head of the Sinn Féin movement; Michael F. Ryan, Philadelphia, and Frank P. Walsh, Kansas City.

Second row: Father O'Flannigan, Mr. Griffith, Mr. O'Neil, Lord Mayor of Dublin, and Mr. Cosgrove.

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Service)

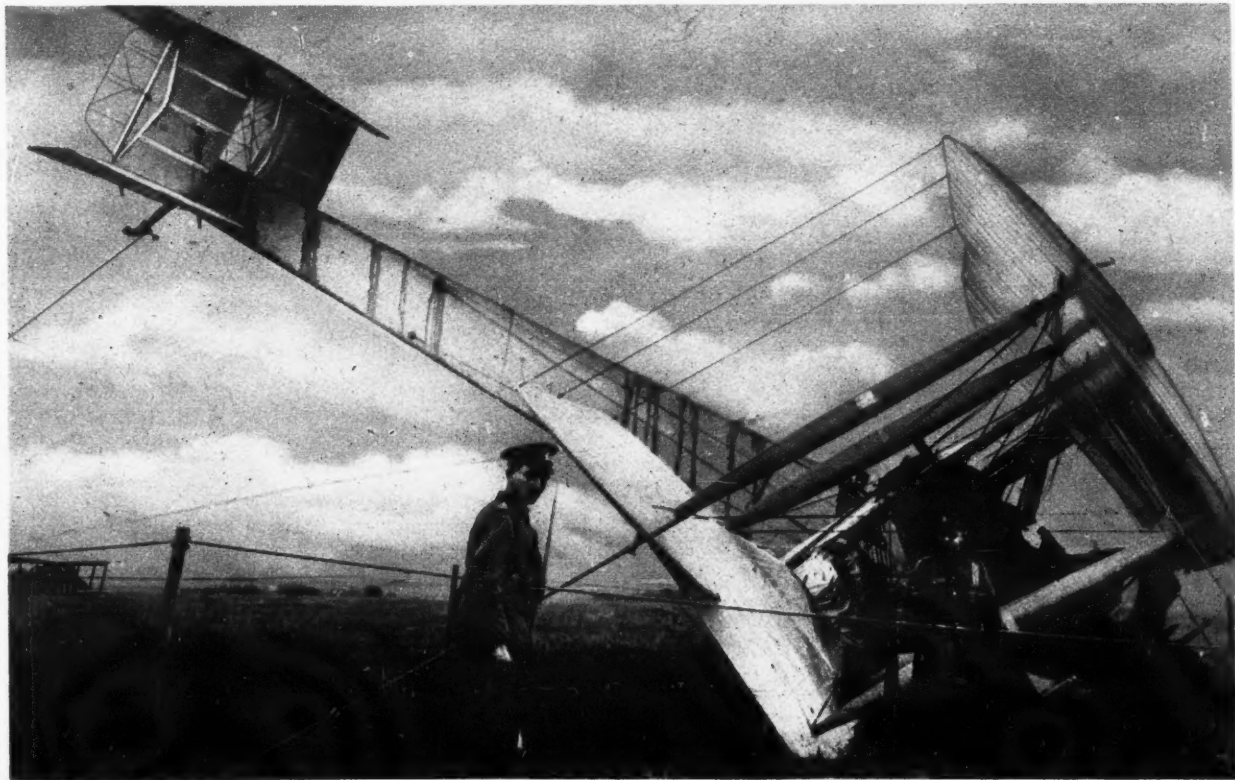
BRITISH NAVAL DIRIGIBLE R-34 LANDING AT MINEOLA



The R-34, the first lighter-than-air craft to cross the ocean, is here seen being anchored at Roosevelt Field, Mineola, L. I., after completing its long journey from Scotland on July 6, 1919.

(© Underwood & Underwood)

LANDING OF THE VICKERS-VIMY PLANE THAT CROSSED THE ATLANTIC



View of the airplane that made the first nonstop flight across the Atlantic. It landed nose down in a bog at Clifden, Ireland, June 15, 1919. The trip was made in 16 hours and 12 minutes. The aviators, Alcock and Brown, were uninjured.

(© International Film Service)

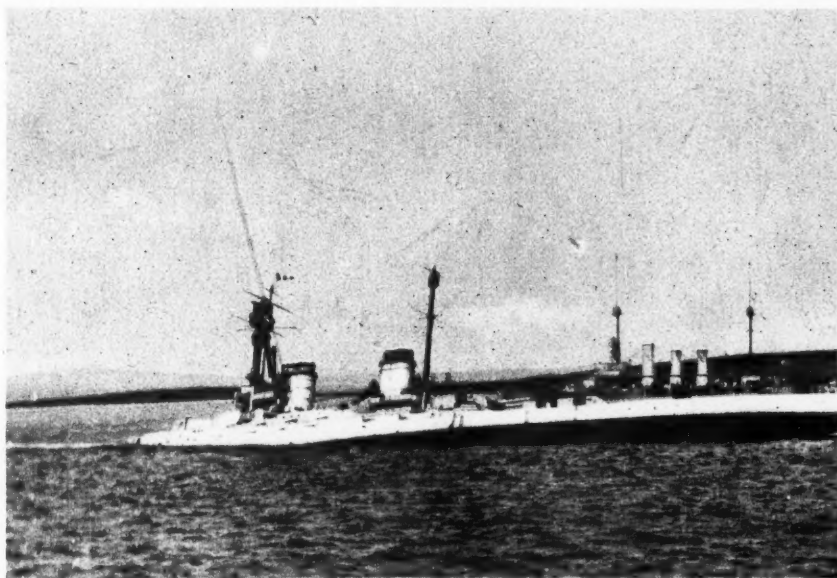
PEACE CELEBRATION IN LONDON



Jubilant British throng that gathered around Nelson's monument, Trafalgar Square, to celebrate peace, June 28, 1919.

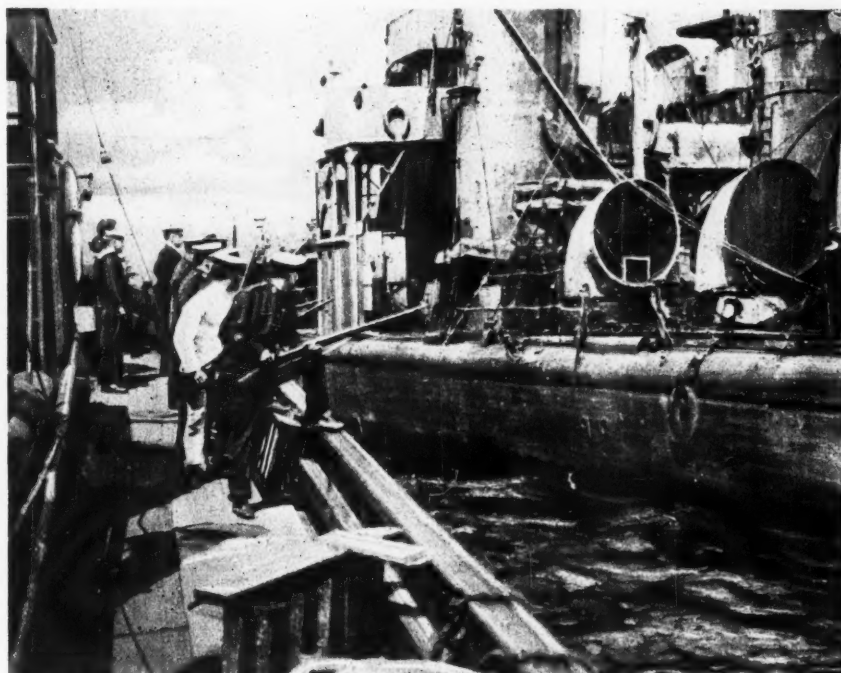
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SINKING OF GERMAN FLEET AT SCAPA FLOW



View of Battleship Hindenburg just before it disappeared beneath the waves.

(© International Film Service)



British boarding party about to make prisoners of Germans on a sinking destroyer.

(© Paul Thompson)

FUNERAL OF EDITH CAVELL IN LONDON



The cortège is proceeding toward Parliament Square after the historic service in the Abbey, May 15, 1919.

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CURRENT HISTORY

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SIGNING THE PEACE TREATY

Final Negotiations and Historic Ceremony at Versailles That Ended the War With Germany

[THE FULL TEXT OF THE GERMAN PEACE TREATY WILL BE FOUND ON PAGES 285-368.]

THE great European war that followed the assassination of the Austrian Crown Prince at Sarajevo on June 28, 1914, was ended exactly five years later, on June 28, 1919, by the signing of the treaty that brought peace to the embattled nations. With the conclusion of the Peace of Versailles by Germany and the allied and associated powers, the long labors of the Paris Conference, which had opened on Feb. 14, were finally crowned; Germany agreed to make full reparation for her crimes, and a new charter of international law and order, the League of Nations covenant, was incorporated in the treaty as signed.

The delivery of the first draft of the German treaty was followed by a period of uncertainty and even of anxiety. The protests of Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau and the German counterproposals of May 29 were answered by the Allies on June 16 with a long communication which in stern language traced the guilt for the origin of the war and the inhumanity with which it had been waged. Accompanying this answer was a new version of the treaty, with certain modifications written in red ink on a copy of the original version. None of these alterations was essential; the German counterproposals were rejected almost en bloc, the arguments being refuted or passed over as negligible; a plebiscite, however, was provided for in Upper Silesia; a method of reparation for the devastated districts was proposed; a hope of ability to admit Germany to the League of Nations within a reasonable period was held out, and a few alterations of a minor character were incorporated; at the same time Germany was warned that this revised form of the treaty was the Allies' last

word, and that an expression of willingness to sign was required by Monday, June 23, when the armistice would expire and the allied and associated powers would "take such steps as they thought needful to force their terms."

Count von Brockdorff and most of the German peace delegation departed for Germany bearing the Allies' ultimate terms. Brockdorff, before leaving, sent the allied council a long document pointing out discrepancies between the original and revised treaty text in parts not stated to have undergone change. The answer was forwarded to the Count later in Germany by Herr Haniel von Haimhausen, the temporary peace plenipotentiary who took his place. In this reply a number of the so-called discrepancies were explained as supplemental changes, and others were accepted as valid corrections.

TO SIGN OR NOT TO SIGN

Meanwhile the Allies proceeded to perfect their military plans for the invasion of Germany in the event of a refusal to sign, unmoved by the storm of protest that swept over the nation when the final terms became public; at the date of the expiration of the armistice the British, French, and American forces on the Rhine were equipped to the last detail for immediate advance. In accordance with the plan of Marshal Foch a complete circle was to be drawn around Germany; she was to be cut off from all communication with the world and her territories invaded, unless she yielded to the allied terms.

Would Germany sign? German newspapers, German statesmen, the Scheidemann Cabinet and President Ebert said "No." The masses of the war-weary people, led by the independent Socialists,

said "Yes." The first result was a Cabinet crisis. The Scheidemann Government resigned under the pressure of the allied ultimatum, and the formation of a new Cabinet was attended by the greatest difficulties. At the palace and the royal theatre countless meetings were held. The situation changed from hour to hour, the various parties conflicting in their views as to signing, rejecting, or signing conditionally. One of the main stumbling blocks was the question of war guilt, involving the delivery of the Kaiser and his accomplices to an allied tribunal for trial.

After a stormy period a Cabinet centering about Count von Bernstorff and Dr. Dernburg was in process of formation, but fell to pieces on the refusal of these leaders to accept office. Gustav Adolf Bauer, however, was successful in another attempt; the Cabinet finally determined on, a purely transitional combination, was composed of men taken over from the Scheidemann Government, but lacking the animating impulse of that Government—the determination not to sign the treaty. It included Herr Bauer as Premier and Dr. Hermann Müller as Foreign Minister.

PROVISIONAL ACCEPTANCE

All this, however, had taken time, and the expiration of the time limit laid down by the allied council was drawing dangerously close. On Saturday, June 21, Premier Bauer appeared before the National Assembly, and his Cabinet received a vote of confidence by a large majority. On the same day a long communication was transmitted to the allied council through Herr Haniel von Haimhausen, temporary head of the German peace delegation, agreeing conditionally to the acceptance of the peace terms, and stating that Germany would not consider herself bound by the provisions for the trial of the ex-Kaiser and his associates, or blameworthy in the event that the terms of the peace proved impossible of fulfillment. This first official note of provisional acceptance, received by M. Clemenceau on June 22 at 5 P. M., was as follows:

The Imperial Minister of Foreign Affairs

has instructed me to communicate the following to your Excellency:

The Government of the German Republic has from the moment when the peace conditions of the allied and associated Governments were made known to it let no doubt exist as to the fact that the Government, in harmony with the whole German people, must regard these conditions as being in sharp contradiction to the principle which was accepted by the allied and associated powers on the one hand, and Germany on the other, as being binding in accordance with the laws of nations for the peace before the conclusion of the armistice.

Relying upon this principle of justice, which was agreed upon between the parties to the negotiations, and assisted by a clear exposition of conditions in Germany, the Government has left no stone unturned in order to arrive at a direct verbal exchange of opinions and thus obtain some mitigation of the unbearably harsh conditions, which might render it possible for the Government of the German Republic to sign the treaty of peace without reservations and to guarantee its execution.

"GERMAN DIGNITY IMPAIRED"

These endeavors of the Government of the German Republic, which were undertaken in the interest of the peace of the world and the reconciliation of peoples, have failed owing to rigorous insistence on the conditions of peace.

Far-reaching counterproposals of the German delegation have only in certain points received any acceptance. The concessions made only reduced the severity of the conditions in a small degree.

The allied and associated Governments have, in an ultimatum which expires on June 23, confronted the Government of the German Republic with the decision either to sign the treaty of peace presented by them or to refuse to sign. In the latter case, a completely defenseless people have been threatened with the forcible imposition of the conditions of peace already presented and with the increase of heavy burdens.

The German people do not wish for the resumption of the bloody war; they honestly wish for a lasting peace. In view of the attitude of the allied and associated Governments, the German people have no other force in their hands save to appeal to the eternally inalienable right to an independent life, which belongs to the German people, as to all peoples.

The Government of the German Republic can lend no support to this sacred right of the German people by the application of force. The Government can only hope for support through the conscience of mankind. No people, including those of the allied and associated

powers, could expect the German people to agree with thorough conviction to an instrument of peace whereby living members of the very body of the German people are to be cut off without consultation of the populations concerned, whereby the dignity of the German State is to be permanently impaired, and whereby unendurable economic and financial burdens are to be laid upon the German people.

The German Government has received passionate expressions of opinion from the population in the districts to be cut off in the East, to the effect that they will oppose themselves to the separation of these districts, which have for the greater part been German for many centuries, by all means they possess. The German Government, therefore, finds itself compelled to decline all responsibility for any difficulty which may result from the resistance of the inhabitants against their separation from Germany.

If the Government of the German Republic is, nevertheless, ready to sign the conditions of the Allies with the above mentioned reservation, yet this is not done of its free will. The Government of the German Republic solemnly declares that its attitude is to be understood in the sense that it yields to force, being resolved to spare the German people, whose sufferings are unspeakable, a new war, the shattering of its national unity by further occupation of German territories, terrible famine for women and children, and mercilessly prolonged retention of the prisoners of war.

The German people expects, in view of the grievous burdens which it is to take upon itself, that all German military and civilian prisoners, beginning July 1, and thereafter in uninterrupted succession and within a short period, shall be restored. Germany gave back her enemies' prisoners of war within two months.

ACCEPTANCE WITH RESERVATION

The Government of the German Republic engages to fulfill the conditions of peace imposed upon Germany. It desires, however, in this solemn moment to express itself with unreserved clearness in order to meet in advance any accusation of untruthfulness that may now or later be made against Germany.

The conditions imposed exceed the measure of that which Germany can in fact perform. The Government of the German Republic therefore feels bound to announce that it makes all reservations and declines all responsibility as regards the consequence which may be threatened against Germany when, which is bound to happen, the impossibility of carrying out the conditions come to light, even though Germany's capacity to fulfill them is stretched to the utmost.

Germany further lays the greatest emphasis on the declaration that she cannot accept Article 230 of the treaty of peace, which requires Germany to admit herself to be the sole and only author of the war, and she does not cover this article by her signature. It consequently follows without further argument that Germany must also decline to recognize that the burden should be placed upon her on the score of the responsibility of the war which has unjustly been laid at her door.

Likewise it is equally impossible for a German to reconcile it with his dignity and honor to accept and execute Articles 227 to 230, by which Germany is required to give up to the allied and associated powers for trial individuals among the German people who are accused by the allied and associated powers of a breach of international law and of committing acts contrary to the customs of war.

Further, the Government of the German Republic makes a distinct protest against the taking away of all the colonial possessions of Germany and the reasons given therefor, which permanently deny to Germany fitness for colonial activity, although the contrary is clearly established and irrefutable evidence to this effect is contained in the observations of the German peace delegation on the conditions of peace.

REVISION AFTER TWO YEARS

The Government of the German Republic assumes that it is in accordance with the desires of the allied and associated Governments that it has spoken openly both as regards what concerns its good-will and also as regards its reservation. Therefore, in view of the condition of restraint into which the German people are forced by the requirements of the Allies—a condition of constraint such as has never been inflicted on any people in a manner more crushing and more disastrous in its consequences—and relying on the express undertaking of the allied and associated Governments in their memorandum of June 16, 1919, the German Government believes itself to be entitled to address the following modest request to the allied and associated Governments, in the expectation that the allied and associated Governments will consider the following declaration as an integral portion of the treaty:

"Within two years, counting from the day when the treaty is signed, the allied and associated Governments will submit the present treaty to the high council of the powers, as constituted by the League of Nations, according to Article 4, for the purpose of subsequent examination. Before this high council the German plenipotentiaries are to enjoy the same rights and privileges as the representatives of

the other contracting powers of the present treaty. This council shall decide in regard to those conditions of the present treaty which impair the rights to self-determination of the German people and also in regard to the stipulation whereby the free economic development of Germany on a footing of equal rights is impeded."

The Government of the German Republic accordingly gives the declaration of its consent, as required by the note of June 16, 1919, in the following form:

"The Government of the German Republic is ready to sign the treaty of peace, without, however, recognizing thereby that the German people was the author of the war and without undertaking any responsibility for delivering persons in accordance with Articles 227 to 230 of the treaty of peace."

BAUER,

President of the Imperial Ministry.
Weimar, June 21, 1919.

ALLIES' PEREMPTORY REPLY

In a reply of the same date, transmitted to the German peace plenipotentiaries at Versailles, the Council of Five said:

The allied and associated powers have considered the note of the German delegation of even date, and, in view of the shortness of time remaining, feel it their duty to reply at once. Of the time within which the German Government must make its final decision as to the signature of the treaty less than twenty-four hours remains. The allied and associated Governments have given fullest consideration to all representations hitherto made by the German Government with regard to the treaty, and have replied with complete frankness. They have made such concessions as they thought it was just to make.

The present note of the German delegation presents no arguments or considerations not already examined. The allied and associated Governments, therefore, feel constrained to say that the time for discussion is past.

They can accept or acknowledge no qualification of reservation and must require of the German representatives an unequivocal decision as to their purposes to sign and accept as a whole, or not to sign and accept, the treaty as finally formulated.

After the signature the allied and associated powers must hold Germany responsible for the execution of every stipulation of the treaty.

TIME EXTENSION REFUSED

The next move of the German Government was to ask for an extension of

time. In accordance with a dispatch received from Weimar at midnight June 22-23, Herr Haniel von Haimhausen transmitted a note to M. Clemenceau by a French officer from Versailles, who reached Paris at 2:30 in the morning. M. Dutasta was awakened, as were Messrs. Clemenceau, Lloyd George, and Wilson, and a meeting was arranged for the morning. The note from von Haimhausen read as follows:

To His Excellency, the President of the Peace Conference, M. Clemenceau:

MR. PRESIDENT: The Minister for Foreign Affairs instructs me to beg the allied and associated Governments to prolong for forty-eight hours the time limit for answering your Excellency's note, communicated yesterday evening, and likewise the time limit for answering the note of June 16, 1919.

It was only on Saturday, after great difficulties, that a new Cabinet was formed, which, unlike its predecessor, could come to an agreement to declare its willingness to sign the treaty as regards nearly all its provisions. The National Assembly has expressed its confidence in this Cabinet by a large majority of votes. The answer only arrived here just before midnight, as the direct wire from Versailles to Weimar was out of order. The Government must come into contact anew with the National Assembly, in order to make the grievous decision which is still required of it in the only manner in which it can be taken in accordance with democratic principles and with the internal situation in Germany.

Accept, Mr. President, the assurance of my distinguished consideration,

VON HAIMHAUSEN.

The following reply was sent after its approval by the council of the allied and associated powers:

MR. PRESIDENT: The allied and associated Governments beg to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of June 23. After full consideration of your request they regret that it is not possible to extend the time already granted to your Excellency to make known your decision relative to the signature of the treaty without any reservation.

CLEMENCEAU.

UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER

The German National Assembly thereupon, on Monday, June 23, the last day of the period allowed, accepted unconditionally the allied terms, barely in time to avert the execution of the allied plans

for blockade and invasion. The note was short, making only one typewritten page; on its receipt by Paul Dutasta it was at once translated and copies were transmitted to Messrs. Clemenceau, Lloyd George, and Wilson. The text of the note is given herewith:

The Minister of Foreign Affairs has instructed me to communicate to your Excellency the following:

It appears to the Government of the German Republic, in consternation at the last communication of the allied and associated Governments, that these Governments have decided to wrest from Germany by force acceptance of the peace conditions, even those which, without presenting any material significance, aim at divesting the German people of their honor.

No act of violence can touch the honor of the German people. The German people, after frightful suffering in these last years, have no means of defending themselves by external action.

Yielding to superior force, and without renouncing in the meantime its own view of the unheard-of injustice of the peace conditions, the Government of the German Republic declares that it is ready to accept and sign the peace conditions imposed.

Please accept, Mr. President, assurances of my high consideration,

(Signed) VON HANIEL.

This final surrender on the part of the German Government brought relief to tense nerves all over the world. The great war was ended at last. The peremptory refusal of even a forty-eight-hour delay had shown the temper of the victorious powers, indicating their determination to push the matter through to an issue without further loss of time; that Germany knew what she would be facing in case of rejection was shown not only by the final note of acceptance, but by explicit statements made by Premier Bauer before the Assembly. The receipt of this capitulatory note, however, relieved the heavily charged atmosphere, and the excitement and rejoicing in Paris were tremendous. As soon as it became known officially that the Germans had agreed to sign the treaty unconditionally, big guns began to boom from all the forts around Paris, bringing their message to the waiting people. Simultaneously at 6 o'clock the siren on the roof of the Hotel Astoria, British headquarters, near the centre of the city,

began to shriek, and its piercing notes were heard for half an hour by the excited throngs on the Champs Elysées. Public demonstrations lasted far into the night.

CHOOSING GERMAN SIGNERS

Following the receipt of the German note of surrender the allied council sent a note asking whether or not it was intended that Herr Haniel von Haimhausen should affix his signature to the compact. To this communication there came no reply, and the silence of the German Government brought again an element of tenseness into the situation. On June 24 it was announced from Weimar that the plenipotentiaries who would sign the Peace Treaty for Germany had not yet been chosen, and that great difficulty was encountered in finding men who were willing to affix their names to a document which crystallized the doom of Germany.

It was stated at this time that Dr. Haniel von Haimhausen had telegraphed his resignation from Versailles to avoid the necessity of attaching his name to the instrument. It appeared subsequently that the German Government had designated von Haimhausen to be the sole signatory to the treaty, and it was to this end that he had been appointed temporary plenipotentiary. The powers, however, had protested. They held that von Haimhausen, who had been chief of the Secretariat of the German peace mission, was not of sufficient rank or importance to justify his acting for Germany when the allied signatories would include Premiers and a President.

The German Government's continued silence perplexed the allied council so greatly that on June 25 M. Dutasta was sent to Versailles to see if von Haimhausen had received any information from his Government. The only advice that the latter had received stated that the German Cabinet had left Weimar for Berlin. It was stated that if word was not soon received another ultimatum would be transmitted. Until 11:25 in the morning of June 26 no reply had been sent by Germany, but semi-official statements received through von Haimhausen from Berlin made it clear that

the effort to find delegates was proceeding, and was attended with great difficulties; news then came that Dr. Hermann Müller, the Foreign Minister in the new German Cabinet, and Dr. Johannes Bell, Minister of Colonies, had been selected to sign the treaty; they had left Berlin secretly on Friday and were to arrive at Versailles not later than Saturday morning, June 28. Satisfied with these semi-official tidings, the Allies at once began to complete their preparations for the formal ceremony of signing, which was to take place in the famous Galerie des Glaces (Hall of Mirrors) in the Palace of Versailles, on Saturday, June 28, at 3 P. M.

The two German plenipotentiaries reached Versailles after nightfall on June 27. Secretary Dutasta went to Versailles at 8:30 that evening to hand them a letter from Premier Clemenceau certifying that the treaty to be submitted for their signature conformed in all points to the text of the document submitted on June 16. Plans for the ceremony proceeded. All those holding tickets of admission to the Hall of Mirrors had been notified that they must be provided with identification papers; each ticket was to bear the photograph of the person to be admitted. Ticket holders were requested to be at the palace by 2 o'clock.

The Historic Ceremony at Versailles

How the Treaty Was Signed

NO nobler and more eloquent setting could have been found for this greatest of all modern events, the signing of the Peace of Versailles, after five years of terrific struggle on whose outcome the fate of the whole world had hung, than the palace of the greatest of French Kings on the hillcrest of the Paris suburb that gave its name to the treaty. To reach it the plenipotentiaries and distinguished guests from all parts of the world motored to Versailles that day, and drove down the magnificent tree-lined Avenue du Château, then across the huge square—the famous Place d'Armes of Versailles—and up through the gates and over the cobblestones of the Court of Honor to the entrance, where officers of the Republican Guard, whose creation dates back to the French Revolution, in picturesque uniform, were drawn up to receive them.

All day the crowd had been gathering. It was a cloudy day; not till noon did the sky clear. By noon eleven regiments of French cavalry and infantry had taken position along the approaches to the palace, while within the court on either side solid lines of infantry in horizon blue were drawn up at attention.

Hours before the time set for the cere-

mony an endless stream of automobiles began moving out of Paris up the cannon-lined hill of the Champs Elysées, past the massive Arc de Triomphe, bulking sombrely against the leaden sky, and out through the Bois de Boulogne. This whole thoroughfare was kept clear by pickets, dragoons, and mounted gendarmes. In the meantime thousands of Parisians were packing regular and special trains on all the lines leading to Versailles, and contending with residents of the town for places in the vast park where the famous fountains would rise in white fleur-de-lis to mark the end of the ceremony.

A MEMORABLE SCENE

Past the line of gendarmes thrown across the approaches to the square reserved for ticket holders, the crowd surged in a compact and irresistible wave, while hundreds of the more fortunate ones took up positions in the high windows of every wing of the palace. Up the broad boulevard of the Avenue de Paris the endless chain of motor cars rolled between rows of French soldiers; and a guard of honor at the end of the big court presented arms to the plenipotentiaries and delegates as they drove through to the entrance, which for the

allied delegates only was by the marble stairway to the "Queen's Apartments" and the Hall of Peace, giving access to the Hall of Mirrors. A separate route of entry was prescribed for the Germans, an arrangement which angered and disconcerted them when they discovered it, through the park and up the marble stairway through the ground floor.

The delegates and plenipotentiaries began to arrive shortly after 2 o'clock, their automobiles rolling between double lines of infantry with bayonets fixed—it was estimated that there were 20,000 soldiers altogether guarding the route—that held back the cheering throngs. The scene from the Court of Honor was impressive. The Place d'Armes was a lake of white faces, dappled everywhere by the bright colors of flags and fringed with the horizon blue of troops whose bayonets flamed silverly as the sun emerged for a moment from behind heavy clouds. At least a dozen airplanes wheeled and curvetted above.

Up that triumphal passage, leading for a full quarter of a mile from the wings of the palace to the entrance to the Hall of Mirrors, representatives of the victorious nations passed in flag-decked limousines—hundreds, one after another, without intermission, for fifty minutes. Just inside the golden gates, which were flung wide, they passed the big bronze statue of Louis XIV., the "Sun-King," on horseback, flanked by statues of the Princes and Governors, Admirals and Generals who had made Louis the Grand Monarque of France. And on the façade of the twin, temple-like structures on either side of the great statue they could read as they passed an inscription symbolic of the historic ceremony just about to occur: "To All the Glories of France."

NOTABILITIES ARRIVE

One of the earliest to arrive was Marshal Foch, amid a torrent of cheering, which burst out even louder a few moments later when the massive head of Premier Clemenceau was seen through the windows of a French military car. To these and other leaders, including President Wilson, General Pershing, and

Premier Lloyd George, the troops drawn up all around the courtyard presented arms. After Clemenceau the unique procession continued, diplomats, soldiers, Princes of India in gorgeous turbans and swarthy faces, dapper Japanese in immaculate Western dress, Admirals, aviators, Arabs; one caught a glimpse of the bright colors of French, British, and Colonial uniforms. British Tommies and American doughboys also dashed up on crowded camions, representing the blood and sweat of the hard-fought victory; they got an enthusiastic reception. It was 2:45 o'clock when Mr. Balfour, bowing and smiling, heralded the arrival of the British delegates. Mr. Lloyd George was just behind him, for once wearing the conventional high hat instead of his usual felt. At ten minutes of 3 came President Wilson in a black limousine, with his flag, a white eagle on a dark blue ground; he received a hearty welcome.

By 3 o'clock the last contingent had arrived, and the broad ribbon road stretched empty between the lines of troops from the gates of the palace courtyard. The Germans had already entered; to avoid any unpleasant incident they had been quietly conveyed from their lodgings at the Hotel des Reservoirs Annex through the park.

THE SCENE INSIDE

The final scene in the great drama was enacted in the magnificent Hall of Mirrors. Versailles contains no more splendid chamber than this royal hall, whose 300 mirrors gleam from every wall, whose vaulted and frescoed ceiling looms dark and high, in whose vastness the footfalls of the passer re-echo over marble floors and die away reverberatingly. It was no mere matter of convenience or accident that the Germans were brought to sign the Peace Treaty in this hall. For this same hall, which saw the German peace delegates of 1919, representing a beaten and prostrate Germany, affix their signatures to the allied terms of peace, had witnessed in the year 1871 a very different ceremony. It was in the Hall of Mirrors that the German Empire was born. Forty-nine years ago, on a January morning, while

the forts of beleaguered Paris were firing their last defiant shots, in that mirror-gleaming hall was inaugurated the reign of that German Empire the virtual end of which, so far as the concept held by its originators is concerned, was signalized in Versailles in the same spot on Saturday, June 28. And in 1871 President Thiers had signed there the crushing terms of defeat imposed by a victorious and ruthless Germany.

In anticipation of the present ceremony carpets had been laid and the ornamental table, with its eighteenth century gilt and bronze decorations, had been placed in position on the dais where the plenipotentiaries were seated. Fronting the chair of M. Clemenceau was placed a small table, on which the diplomatic instruments were laid. It was to this table that each representative was called, in alphabetical order by countries, to sign his name to the treaty and affix to it his Governmental seal. The 400 or more invited guests were given places in the left wing of the Hall of Mirrors, while the right wing was occupied by about the same number of press representatives. Sixty seats were allotted to the French press alone. Besides the military guards outside the palace, the grand stairway up which the delegates came to enter the hall was controlled by the Republican Guards in their most brilliant gala uniform.

THE PEACE TABLE

The peace table—a huge hollow rectangle with its open side facing the windows in the hall—was spread with tawny yellow coverings blending with the rich browns, blues, and yellows of the antique hangings and rugs; these, and the mellow tints of the historical paintings, depicting scenes from France's ancient wars, in the arched roof of the long hall, lent bright dashes of color to an otherwise austere scene. Against the sombre background also stood out the brilliant uniforms of a few French guards, in red plumed silver helmets and red, white, and blue uniforms, and a group of allied Generals, including General Pershing, who wore the scarlet sash of the Legion of Honor.

But all the diplomats and members of the parties who attended the ceremony of signing wore conventional civilian clothes. All gold lace and pageantry was eschewed, the fanciful garb of the Middle Ages was completely absent as representative of traditions and practices sternly condemned in the great bound treaty-volume of Japanese paper, covered with seals and printed in French and English, which was signed by twenty-seven nations that afternoon.

As a contrast with the Franco-German peace session of 1871, held in the same hall, there were present some grizzled French veterans of the Franco-Prussian war. They took the place of the Prussian guardsmen of the previous ceremony, and gazed with a species of grim satisfaction at the disciples of Bismarck, who sat this time in the seats of the lowly, while the white marble statue of Minerva, goddess of war, looked stonily on.

ENTRANCE OF CHIEF ACTORS

The ceremony of signing was marked only by three minor incidents: a protest by the German delegation at the eleventh hour over the provision of separate entrance, the filing of a document of protest by General Jan Smuts of the South African delegation, and the deliberate absence of the Chinese delegates from the ceremony, due to dissatisfaction over the concessions granted to Japan in Shantung.

The treaty was deposited on the table at 2:10 o'clock by William Martin of the French Foreign Office; it was inclosed in a stamped leather case, and bulked large. Because of the size of the volume and the fragile seals it bore, the plan to present it for signing to Premier Clemenceau, President Wilson, and Premier Lloyd George had been given up. A box of old-fashioned goosequills, sharpened by the expert pen pointer of the French Foreign Office, was placed on each of the three tables for the use of plenipotentiaries who desired to observe the conventional formalities.

Secretary Lansing, meanwhile, had been the first of the American delegation to arrive in the palace—at 1:45 P. M. Premier Clemenceau entered at 2:20

o'clock. Three detachments each consisting of fifteen private soldiers—from the American, British, and French forces—entered just before 3 o'clock and took their places in the embrasures of the windows overlooking the château park, a few feet from Marshal Foch, who was seated with the French delegation at the peace table. Marshal Foch was present only as a spectator, and did not participate in the signing. These forty-five soldiers of the three main belligerent nations were present as the real "artisans of peace" and stood within the inclosure reserved for plenipotentiaries and high officials of the conference as a visible sign of their rôle in bringing into being a new Europe. These men had been selected from those who bore honorable wounds. Premier Clemenceau stepped up to the poilus of the French detachment and shook the hand of each, expressing his pleasure at seeing them, and his regrets for the suffering they had endured for France.

Delegates of the minor powers made their way with difficulty through the crowd to their places at the table. Officers and civilians lined the walls and filled the isles. President Wilson entered the Hall of Mirrors at 2:50 o'clock. All the allied delegates were then seated, except the Chinese representatives, who were conspicuous by their absence. The difficulty of seeing well militated against demonstrations on the arrival of prominent statesmen. The crowd refused to be seated and thronged toward the centre of the hall, which is so long that a good view was impossible from any distance, even with the aid of opera glasses. German correspondents were ushered into the hall just before 3 o'clock and took standing room in a window at the rear of the correspondents' section.

At 3 o'clock a hush fell over the hall. There were a few moments of disorder while the officials and the crowd took their places. At 3:07 the German delegates, Dr. Hermann Müller, German Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and Dr. Johannes Bell, Colonial Secretary, were shown into the hall; with heads held high they took their seats. The other delegates remained seated, ac-

cording to a prearranged plan reminiscent of the discourtesy displayed by von Brockdorff-Rantzau, who at the ceremony of delivery of the peace treaty on May 7 had refused to rise to read his address to the allied delegates. The seats of the German delegates touched elbows with the Japanese on the right and the Brazilians on the left. They were thus on the side nearest the entrance, and the program required them to depart by a separate exit before the other delegates at the close of the ceremony. Delegates from Ecuador, Peru, and Liberia faced them across the narrow table.

THE GERMANS SIGN

M. Clemenceau, as President of the Peace Conference, opened the ceremony. Rising, he made the following brief address, amid dead silence:

The session is open. The allied and associated powers on one side and the German Reich on the other side have come to an agreement on the conditions of peace. The text has been completed, drafted, and the President of the Conference has stated in writing that the text that is about to be signed now is identical with the 200 copies that have been delivered to the German delegation. The signatures will be given now, and they amount to a solemn undertaking faithfully and loyally to execute the conditions embodied by this treaty of peace. I now invite the delegates of the German Reich to sign the treaty.

There was a tense pause for a moment. Then in response to M. Clemenceau's bidding the German delegates rose without a word, and, escorted by William Martin, master of ceremonies, moved to the signatory table, where they placed upon the treaty the sign-manuals which German Government leaders had declared over and over again, with emphasis and anger, would never be appended to this treaty. They also signed a protocol covering changes in the documents, and the Polish undertaking. All three documents were similarly signed by the allied delegates who followed.

WILSON SIGNS NEXT

When the German delegates regained their seats after signing, President Wilson immediately rose and, followed by the other American plenipotentiaries,

moved around the sides of the horseshoe to the signature tables. It was thus President Wilson, and not M. Clemenceau, who was first of the allied delegates to sign. This, however, was purely what may be called an alphabetical honor, in accordance with the order in which the nations were named in the prologue to the treaty. Premier Lloyd George, with the British delegation, came next. The British dominions followed. M. Clemenceau, with the French delegates, was next in line; then came Baron Saionji and the other Japanese delegates, and they in turn were followed by the representatives of the smaller powers.

During the attaching of the signatures of the great powers and the Germans a battery of moving picture cameras clicked away so audibly that they could be heard above the general noise and disorder of the throng. The close of the ceremony came so quickly and quietly that it was scarcely noticed until it was all over. M. Clemenceau arose almost unremarked, and in a voice half lost amid the confusion and the hum of conversation which had sprung up while the minor powers were signing declared the conference closed, and asked the allied and associated delegates to remain in their seats for a few moments—this to permit the German plenipotentiaries to leave the building before the general exodus.

THE GERMANS DEPART

None arose as the Germans filed out, accompanied by their suite of secretaries and interpreters, just as all the plenipotentiaries had kept their seats when Dr. Müller and Dr. Bell entered. The Germans went forth evidently suffering strong emotion. Outside an unsympathetic crowd jammed close to the cars which took them away. There was no aggression, but the sentiment of the throng was unmistakable.

Meanwhile the great guns that announced the closing of the ceremony were booming, and their concussion shook the old palace of Versailles to its foundations. Amid confusion the assembly dispersed, and the most momentous ceremony of the epoch was at an end.

The great war which for five long

years had shaken Europe and the world was formally ended at last. It was a war which had cost the belligerent nations \$186,000,000,000; which had caused the deaths of 7,582,000 human beings, and which had left the world a post-war burden of debt amounting to \$135,000,000,000. It was a war which had changed the whole face of Europe, which had brought many new nations into existence, which had revolutionized the organization of all national and international life. It was a war which had brought the world the consciousness of its common obligation to unite against all war. The booming of the great guns of Versailles seemed to proclaim a new epoch.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S ADDRESS

Simultaneously with the signing of peace President Wilson cabled the following address to the American people, which was given out at once in Washington by Secretary Tumulty:

My Fellow-Countrymen: The treaty of peace has been signed. If it is ratified and acted upon in full and sincere execution of its terms it will furnish the charter for a new order of affairs in the world. It is a severe treaty in the duties and penalties it imposes upon Germany; but it is severe only because great wrongs done by Germany are to be righted and repaired; it imposes nothing that Germany cannot do; and she can regain her rightful standing in the world by the prompt and honorable fulfillment of its terms.

And it is much more than a treaty of peace with Germany. It liberates great peoples who have never before been able to find the way to liberty. It ends, once for all, an old and intolerable order under which small groups of selfish men could use the peoples of great empires to serve their ambition for power and dominion. It associates the free Governments of the world in a permanent League in which they are pledged to use their united power to maintain peace by maintaining right and justice.

It makes international law a reality supported by imperative sanctions. It does away with the right of conquest and rejects the policy of annexation and substitutes a new order under which backward nations—populations which have not yet come to political consciousness and peoples who are ready for independence but not yet quite prepared to dispense with protection and guidance—shall no more be subjected to the domination and

exploitation of a stronger nation, but shall be put under the friendly direction and afforded the helpful assistance of Governments which undertake to be responsible to the opinion of mankind in the execution of their task by accepting the direction of the League of Nations.

It recognizes the inalienable rights of nationality, the rights of minorities and the sanctity of religious belief and practice. It lays the basis for conventions which shall free the commercial intercourse of the world from unjust and vexatious restrictions and for every sort of international co-operation that will serve to cleanse the life of the world and facilitate its common action in beneficent service of every kind. It furnishes guarantees such as were never given or even contemplated for the fair treatment of all who labor at the daily tasks of the world.

It is for this reason that I have spoken of it as a great charter for a new order of affairs. There is ground here for deep satisfaction, universal reassurance, and confident hope.

Late in the afternoon the German delegation received a note from the allied and associated powers specifying the conditions attaching to the ratification of

the treaty they had signed. The note stated, among other things, that the blockade would be lifted from Germany as soon as the German National Assembly had ratified the treaty; a similar condition also applied to the release of German prisoners.

Dr. Müller, Dr. Bell, and about fifty other members of the German delegation left Versailles the same evening virtually unnoticed. To avoid the crowds celebrating in the streets they were sent in fifteen automobiles by a roundabout route to Noisy-le-Roi, where they boarded their train at 9 o'clock. They were accompanied as far as Cologne by French and Italian officers. The Germans took leave of the French officials at Versailles with punctilious politeness. Herr Haniel von Haimhausen and more than fifty other Germans remained temporarily to close up the affairs of the delegation. The German contingent that remained at Versailles through the ensuing weeks was headed by Kurt von Lersner.

Celebrating the Signing

Worldwide Jubilations

THE signing of the treaty was enthusiastically celebrated in Paris on the evening of June 28. All Paris was ablaze; the streets were filled with torchlight processions, columns of troops marched over the city and everywhere were greeted with wild cheers; the soldiers were pelted with flowers and confetti wherever they appeared. Large crowds massed in front of the American Headquarters and salvos of cheers were given for America.

The Strasbourg statue had an American flag at its apex, typifying the efforts of American soldiers on the fighting front in Alsace. The hotels roundabout were brilliantly lighted by electricity and gas for the first time in five years.

Impromptu orchestras appeared on every corner. Young and old danced, and every one kissed every one else. The

population dined early so as to have more time for the merrymaking.

At Marseilles, Toulon, and Cherbourg, as well as other seaports, warships were dressed in flags, salutes were fired, church bells were rung, and there were illuminations and torchlight processions. At Bordeaux the departure of the American students from the university was made the occasion of a brilliant farewell reception by the municipality.

A national thanksgiving service for the deliverance of Belgium occurred at Brussels, attended by the King and Queen. Cardinal Mercier officiated and paid a tribute to the sovereigns and others who remained in the country during the period of occupation. Flags were displayed, but there was no official celebration.

At Rio Janeiro buildings throughout the city displayed the flags of the allied and associated powers, naval salutes

were fired, and there were parades through the city streets.

At London the bells of St. Paul's Cathedral, Westminster Abbey, and of virtually all the churches in the city were rung. Guns were fired, impromptu processions formed, troops headed by bands paraded; a crowd of 10,000 gathered about Buckingham Palace. The King made a brief speech, hymns were sung, national airs played, including "The Star-Spangled Banner" and the "Marseillaise."

On July 6 thanksgiving services were held at St. Paul's, which were attended by the King, the entire Cabinet, distinguished soldiers and sailors, and the Diplomatic Corps. The Archbishop of Canterbury preached and a solemn Te Deum was sung. The day before there was a great victory parade in London.

In the United States there was no formal celebration. In many cities bells were rung and cannons fired. At New York there was blowing of whistles and ringing of church bells; warships in the harbor fired salutes. At other American ports war vessels likewise celebrated with artillery salvos.

At Madrid on June 24 King Alfonso, in his speech from the throne at the reopening of the Cortes, announced the news of the advent of peace "with ineffable joy."

The King began his address by affirming the unalterable concord between Spain and the Vatican and added:

"Spain's friendship for all nations is

unchanged, except for the fact that the Minister at Petrograd was withdrawn in consequence of events there."

After stating that Spain had recognized the independence of Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Finland, the King said that Spain had manifested her adhesion in principle to the League of Nations, and had "the honor to be included in the provisory Executive Committee of that organization."

At Rome only Government officers hoisted flags to celebrate the signing. There were no celebrations. The tone of the influential Italian press was critical of the treaty and the council.

Premier Venizelos issued the following announcement to the Greek Army at Saloniki:

The world commences to breathe. The strongest of our enemies recognizes his complete defeat and accepts the heavy but just conditions of the Allies. The signing of this peace will be followed rapidly by the submission of our more direct enemies, Bulgaria and Turkey, and this latter action will restore liberty to many thousands of our brothers in the Greek Irredenta, as well as to the peoples living there, and will enable Greece again to become a rich State and to enjoy the benefits of peace assured by the League of Nations. The Greek Army may be proud of its participation in this gigantic work.

The rejoicings were worldwide and took on many forms. The National Assembly of San Salvador enacted a law making June 28 a national feast day in celebration of the Peace of Versailles.

China's Refusal to Sign the Treaty

Text of Formal Protest

THE Chinese peace delegation remained away from the historic event of June 28 at Versailles and refused to sign the German treaty because it handed over the former German concessions in China to the Japanese Government, at least temporarily. This refusal followed six weeks of labor on their part to induce the Peace Conference leaders to change or modify the articles in question.

The Shantung decision had become

known late in the evening of April 30, and at midnight Ray Stannard Baker went over to the Hotel Lutetia, where the Chinese delegates had their headquarters, and told Dr. Wang and Dr. Koo the substance of the decision. The next day the Chinese delegation received an invitation to meet Mr. Balfour at 4 o'clock in the Paris residence of Lloyd George. Lou Tseng-tsiang, head of the delegation and Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Alfred Sze, Chinese Minister at

London and one of the five Chinese peace plenipotentiaries, attended and heard what Mr. Balfour had to say. The result was that on May 4 the Chinese delegation delivered the following protest to M. Clemenceau:

Sir: The Right Hon. Arthur J. Balfour, on behalf of the Council of Three, verbally informed the Chinese delegates on May 1, 1919, of the settlement arrived at by the council in regard to the Kiao-Chau-Shantung question. They were given to understand that the clause to be inserted in the Peace Treaty would be very general, to the effect that Germany should renounce all her rights in Kiao-Chau-Shantung to Japan; that the conclusion reached by the Council of Three regarding Kiao-Chau-Shantung was that all political rights formerly enjoyed by Germany were to be restored to China; and to Japan were to be given only the economic rights, such as a settlement at Tsing-tao, the railway already built, (Tsing-tao-Chinan railway,) the mines connected therewith, and two other railways to be built.

They were given to understand, further, that Japan had given explicit assurance to the council that in exercising the rights thus given her she would strictly observe the principle of the open door, in letter and spirit; that she had announced to the council that her policy was to restore full sovereignty in the Shantung Peninsula to China, and that she would not make any exclusive economic use of the port of Tsing-tao or any discriminatory rates, rules, or regulations for the railways. Japan had also stated to the council that she would at the earliest possible moment hand back all the political rights to China, and withdraw all Japanese troops from Shantung. In the arrangement of this settlement everything had been made so clear that no undesirable inference could be drawn therefrom by Japan in regard to her position in the affairs of the Far East.

After listening to the outline of the proposed settlement, communicated to them by Mr. Balfour, the Chinese delegates expressed their disappointment and requested him to be good enough to ask the Council of Three to send them at their earliest convenience a copy of the draft clause to be inserted in the Peace Treaty and the records of the proceedings of the council bearing on the Kiao-Chau-Shantung question.

The Chinese delegation have carefully considered the above outline of the proposed settlement. They would have waited for the complete records before expressing their view of it but for reasons of urgency. Assuming that the above is a correct summary of what Mr. Balfour explained to them, the Chinese delegation

feel constrained to express their keen disappointment, which will be shared in all its intensity by the Chinese Nation, and enter a formal protest in the name of justice.

The declaration of war by China against Germany and Austria-Hungary on Aug. 14, 1917, expressly abrogated all treaties, agreements and conventions between China and those powers, a fact which was officially notified to and taken cognizance of by the allied and associated powers. By this declaration the rights and privileges formerly enjoyed by Germany in the Province of Shantung became null and void, and China, as the sovereign power in that province, became automatically reposed of them. It is difficult to see on what ground these rights can be taken from China and transferred to Japan.

Japan has presumably based her claim on the agreements of 1915 and on the notes of 1918 with China. The 1915 agreements were, however, concluded by China under the coercion of a Japanese ultimatum threatening war. The Chinese Government was obliged to exchange the 1918 notes because the continued presence of the Japanese troops in the interior of Shantung and the unauthorized establishment of a Japanese administrative bureau which attempted to govern Shantung as Japanese territory aroused such popular indignation and opposition that no other course seemed open to the Chinese Government to rid the province of their presence.

If the Shantung Peninsula is to be restored in full sovereignty, according to the proposed agreement, to China, the reason does not appear clear why recourse should be had to two steps instead of one, why the initial transfer should be made to Japan and then leave it to her to "voluntarily engage" to restore it to China.

Notwithstanding the proposed division of political and economic rights, the substitution of Japan for Germany in Shantung so intrenches Japanese influence in this province as to expose China to a greater menace than before, because Japan is nearer to China than Germany.

China, in coming to the Peace Conference, has relied on the Fourteen Points set forth by President Wilson in his address to Congress on the 8th of January, 1918, and the principles laid down in his subsequent addresses and formally adopted by the powers associated against Germany. She has relied on the spirit of honorable relationship between States which is to open a new era in the world and inaugurate the League of Nations. She has relied, above all, on the justice and equity of her case. The result has been, to her, a grievous disappointment.

The Chinese delegation feel it to be their duty to register a formal protest with the

Council of Three against the proposed settlement of the Kiao-Chau-Shantung question.

I have the honor to be, Sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

LOU TSENG-TSIANG.

To the President, the Council of Three, Peace Conference, Paris.

In the succeeding days the Chinese made repeated efforts to obtain the council's consent to their signing the treaty with reservations on the disputed points; but on June 26 M. Pichon, the French Foreign Minister, informed them on behalf of the council that this would not be allowed. The delegation then requested that an opportunity be given them to make a declaration on the signing of the treaty. Refusal of this second request was announced to them on the following afternoon. Thereupon the Chinese delegates declared that if they refused to sign the treaty the responsibility would rest upon the council. The council, whose hands were tied both by the secret agreement under which Japan had entered the war and by the Chinese-Japanese treaty of 1915 in which China had signed away her own independence, now sought to have the Chinese delegates sign the German peace on the strength of Japan's informal promise to restore the territory in question, or on the possibility that the Shantung issue could be worked out by the League of Nations. But on June 27 the Chinese delegation officially announced that China would not sign.

CHINESE DELEGATE'S ACCOUNT

A member of the Chinese delegation, Wu Chao-chu, son of Dr. Wu Ting-fang, former Chinese Minister at Washington, later gave out the following statement on the subject:

According to the decision of the Peace Conference, all rights in Kiao-Chau and the Shantung Province formerly belonging to Germany are transferred without reservation to Japan. At the same time Japan voluntarily engages to hand back the Shantung Peninsula in full sovereignty to China, retaining the economic privileges granted to Germany and the right to establish a concession at Tsing-tao. The owners of the railroads are to use special police only to secure safety for traffic.

When this decision was announced Mr. Lou Tseng-tsiang, head of the Chinese delegation, read to the members of the

Peace Conference the following reservation:

"The Chinese delegation beg to express their deep disappointment at the settlement proposed by the Council of the Prime Ministers. They also feel certain that this disappointment will be shared in all its intensity by the Chinese Nation. The proposed settlement appears to have been made without giving due regard to the consideration of right, justice, and the national security of China—consideration which the Chinese delegation emphasized again and again in their hearings before the Council of the Prime Ministers against the proposed settlement, in the hope of having it revised, and if such revision cannot be had, they deem it their duty to make a reservation on the said clauses now."

This reservation was made in obedience to instructions received by the delegation from China which have not since been altered. Nearly every inch of territory gained by Japan has been acquired from China. In 1870 she took Loochow Island from China; in 1895 she seized Formosa and Pescadores from China; in 1905 she leased Kwantung Peninsula from China; in 1910 she annexed Korea. And now, under the terms of the Chino-Japanese treaty of 1915, and by the consent of the Peace Conference, she may keep Tsing-tao as an exclusive concession; also the port of Kiao-Chau and the Province of Shantung, which is densely settled with forty million Chinese, in utter disregard of the principle of self-determination.

China's stand was due to the fact that Shantung being Chinese territory taken from the enemy, Germany, the restoration should be made to China, the rightful owner, and not to Japan. The Chinese delegation was prepared to sign the treaty subject to a reservation on the three Shantung articles. When even this was denied to her she could take only one course, and not sign at all.

JAPAN SUCCEEDS GERMANY

Japan will become Germany's successor in China, not only through the decision of the Peace Conference but according to Article I. of the treaty of 1915, by which the Chinese Government, to avoid war with Japan, gave full assent "to all matters upon which the Japanese Government may hereafter agree with the German Government concerning the disposition of all rights, interests, and concessions which Germany, by virtue of treaties or otherwise, possesses with regard to the Province of Shantung."

Unless the decision of the Peace Conference is altered by the League of Nations, there is little hope that China will soon recover her rights in the Province of

Shantung, as Japan will succeed to the ill-gotten spoils originally seized by the German Kaiser. Apparently, Shantung is to share the fate of Manchuria and other Chinese possessions now under the Japanese sphere of influence, as Japan will control the entire Bay of Pechili and dominate Peking. Through railroad concessions secured last year Japan will also command all routes leading from Peking to Middle and Southern China. * * *

China demands the nullification of the Chino-Japanese treaties of 1915 on three grounds: First, because they were made under duress; second, because they destroy the independence of China, and, third, because they cannot be enforced without menacing the peace of the world. The treaties of Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest were annulled because they were made under duress. The Chinese people want to manage their own affairs, as they have done for thousands of years. The recognition of the Chino-Japanese treaties of 1915 is a sanction of imperialism and will be sure to result in further conflicts among the nations having interests in the Far East, again setting the world on fire. For how can there be permanent peace when 400,000,000 inhabitants of China are arrayed against injustice.

China's refusal to sign the treaty excluded her from the League of Nations and from the enjoyment of certain rights of redress under that covenant; it also threatened to work to her detriment in the resumption of trade. To avoid these disadvantages the Chinese delegates early in July indicated their intention of obtaining membership in the League of Nations by signing the Austrian peace treaty, which contained none of the objectionable clauses in question. Messages from Peking indicated that the Chinese Government and people were heartily supporting the action of the Paris delegation. One of the delegates, Dr. C. T. Wang, stated that national feeling in China had been greatly strengthened by the delegation's refusal to sign the German Peace Treaty. He added that if no way could be devised for signing the treaty without sacrificing China's national interests it would become necessary for Peking to make a separate peace with Berlin.

Protest of General Smuts

GENERAL JAN CHRISTIAAN SMUTS of the South African peace delegation created a stir at the signing of the treaty by presenting to the Peace Commissioners a protest against some of the treaty's terms. The document stated that he had signed under protest, and declared that the peace was unsatisfactory. In this memorandum he held that the indemnities stipulated could not be accepted without grave injury to the industrial revival of Europe. He asserted that there were territorial settlements which he believed would need revision. Punishments were also foreshadowed, he said, over which a calmer mood might yet prepare to pass the sponge of oblivion. On June 29 he issued a public statement in London on the same lines, as follows:

The months since the armistice was signed, perhaps, have been as upsetting, unsettling, and ruinous to Europe as the previous four years of war. I look upon the Peace Treaty as the close of these two chapters of war and armistice, and only on that ground do I agree to it.

I say this not in criticism, not because I wish to find fault with the work done, but rather because I feel that in the treaty we have not yet achieved the real peace to which our peoples were looking, and because I feel that the real work of making peace will only begin after the treaty has been signed and a definite halt has thereby been called to the destructive passions that have been desolating Europe for nearly five years.

This treaty is simply a liquidation of the war situation in the world. There are guarantees laid down which we all hope will soon be found out of harmony with the new peaceful temper and unarmed state of our former enemies. There are punishments foreshadowed, over most of which a calmer mood may yet prefer to pass the sponge of oblivion. There are indemnities stipulated which cannot be exacted without grave injury to the industrial revival of Europe, and which it will be in the interests of all to render more tolerable and moderate.

The war resulted not only in the utter defeat of the enemy armies, but it has gone immeasurably farther. We witness the collapse of the whole political and economic fabric of Central and Eastern Europe. Unemployment, starvation, anarchy, war, disease, and despair stalk

through the land, and unless the victors can effectively extend a helping hand to the defeated and broken peoples a large part of Europe is threatened with exhaustion and decay. Russia has already walked into the night, and the risk that the rest may follow is very grave indeed. . . .

There are numerous pin pricks which will cease to pain under the healing influences of a new international atmosphere. A real peace of peoples ought to follow, complete, and amend the peace of statesmen in this treaty. However, two achievements of far-reaching importance for the world are definitely recorded. One is the destruction of Prussian militarism; the other is the institution of the League of Nations. I am confident the League of Nations will yet prove the path of escape for Europe out of the ruin brought by this war. But the League as yet is

only the form. It still requires quickening life, which can come only from the active interest and vitalizing contact of the peoples themselves.

A new creative spirit, which is once more moving among the peoples in their anguish, must fill the institution with life and with the inspiration for pacific ideals born of this war, and so convert it into a real instrument of progress. In that way, abolition of militarism—in this treaty, unfortunately, confined to the enemy—may soon come as a blessing and relief to the allied peoples as well, and enemy peoples should at the earliest possible date join the League. Not in selfish domination but in the common service for the great human cause lies the true path of national progress. This joint collaboration is especially necessary today for the reconstruction of a ruined and broken world.

Homecoming of President Wilson

Acclaimed by Multitudes in New York

PRESIDENT WILSON left Paris for home at 9:45 P. M. June 28, and sailed from Brest on the 29th on the U. S. Steamship George Washington. On the evening of June 26 President Poincaré had given a dinner to President Wilson and all the American peace delegates. In responding to an address made by the French President, President Wilson said in part:

These six months have been six months which have woven new fibres of connection between the hearts of our people, and something more than friendship and intimate sympathy has come out of this intercourse.

Friendship is a very good thing. Intimacy is a very enlightening thing. But friendship may end with sentiment. A new thing that has happened is that we have translated our common principles and our common purposes into a common plan. When we part we are not going to part with a finished work, but with a work one portion of which is finished and the other portion of which is only begun.

We have finished the formulation of the peace, but we have begun a plan of co-operation which I believe will broaden and strengthen as the years go by, so that this grip of the hand that we have taken will not need to be relaxed. We have been and shall continue to be comrades. We shall continue to be coworkers in tasks which, because they are common, will weave out of our sentiments

a common conception of duty and a common conception of the rights of men of every race and of every clime. If it be true that that has been accomplished, it is a very great thing.

As I go away from these scenes, I think I shall realize that I have been present at one of the most vital things that have happened in the history of nations. Nations have formed contracts with each other before, but they never have formed partnerships. They have associated themselves temporarily, but they have never before associated themselves permanently.

The wrong that was done in the waging of this war was a great wrong, but it wakened the world to a great moral necessity of seeing that it was necessary that men should band themselves together in order that such a wrong should never be perpetrated again.

Merely to beat a nation that was wrong once is not enough. There must follow the warning to all other nations that would do like things that they in turn will be vanquished and shamed if they attempt a dishonorable purpose.

You can see, therefore, Sir, with what deep feelings those of us who must now for a little while turn away from France, shall leave your shores, and, though the ocean is broad, it will seem very narrow in the future. It will be easier to understand each other than it ever was before, and with the confident intercourse of co-operation the understanding will be strengthened into action, and action will

itself educate alike our purpose and our thought.

So, Sir, in saying good-bye to France I am only saying a sort of physical good-bye, not a spiritual good-bye. I shall retain in my heart always the warm feelings which the generous treatment of this great people has generated in my heart. And I wish in my turn, Sir, to propose, as you have proposed, the continued and increasing friendship of the two nations, the safety and prosperity of France, the closer and closer communion of free peoples, and the strengthening of every influence which instructs the mind and the purpose of humanity.

President Poincaré said farewell to President Wilson's party at the Invalides Station. He was accompanied by M. Dubost, President of the Senate, and M. Deschanel, President of the Chamber of Deputies. Premier Clemenceau was at the station with Foreign Minister Pichon, M. Clementel, the Minister of Commerce, and M. Loucheur, the Minister of Reconstruction.

The Spanish, Italian, Japanese, and Greek envoys in Paris also were present, as were Karl Kramarz, the Premier of Czechoslovakia; General Berdoulat, the Military Governor of Paris, and many other prominent persons.

LAWS SIGNED AT SEA

On sailing the President received dispatches from King George of England, from King Alfonso of Spain, and from the Emperor of Japan, congratulating him on the important and effective part he had taken in the war and in the Peace Conference. The battleship Oklahoma acted as escort to the George Washington during the voyage across.

On July 1 the steamship Great Northern, eastward bound, met the George Washington at sea; the Railroad Appropriation bill, the Indian bill, and other documents that needed the President's signature were transferred from the Great Northern to the George Washington, and were signed at sea aboard that ship, which was technically American territory. A wireless was at once sent to the White House announcing that the bills had become laws.

On July 4 the President delivered an address to the soldiers and sailors on board the ship. Referring to the evi-

dence of complete trust which the people of Europe reposed in America, he said:

We have proved that we were the champions of liberty throughout the world, that we did not wish to keep it as a selfish and private possession of our own, but wanted to share it with men everywhere and of every kind. When you look forward to the future, do you not see what a compulsion that puts upon us?

You cannot earn a reputation like that and then not live up to it. You cannot reach a standard like that and then lay it down by never so little. Every man of us has to live up to it. The welcome that was given to our arms and the cheers that received us are the compulsion that is now put upon us to continue to be worthy of that welcome and of those cheers.

We must continue to put America at the service of mankind, not for any profit we shall get out of it, not for any private benefit we shall reap from it, but because we believe in the right and mean to serve it wherever we have a chance to serve. * * *

Freedom is not a mere sentiment. We all feel the weakness of mere sentiment. If a man professes to be fine, we always wait for him to show it. We do not take his word for it. If he professes fine motives, we expect him thereafter to show that he is acting upon fine motives. And the kind of freedom that America has always represented is a freedom expressing itself in fact. It is not the profession of principles merely, but the redemption of those principles, making good on those principles, and knowing how to make good on those principles. * * *

The laws of freedom are these: Accommodate your interests to other people's interests; that you shall not insist on standing in the light of other people, but that you shall make a member of a team of yourself and nothing more or less, and that the interests of the team shall take precedence in everything that you do to your interest as an individual.

That is freedom, and men who live under autocratic Governments are not free, because the autocrat arranges the Government to suit himself. The minute he arranges it to suit his subjects, then his subjects are free.

But if I disobey the laws of freedom, if I infringe on the rights of others, then I presently find myself deprived of my freedom. I am clapped in jail, it may be, and if my jailer is a philosopher he will say, "You brought it upon yourself, my dear fellow. You were free to do right, but you were not free to do wrong. Now, what I blame you for is not so much your malice as your ignorance."

One reason why America has been free,

I take leave to say, is that America has been intelligent enough to be free. It takes a lot of intelligence to be free. Stupid people do not know how, and we all go to the school of intelligence that comes out of the discipline of our own self-chosen institutions.

ARRIVAL AT NEW YORK

The George Washington arrived off New York Harbor on July 8 in the morning. The ship bearing the President steamed into home waters under an escort of five dreadnoughts and forty United States destroyers. Twenty miles beyond Sandy Hook the dreadnoughts fired the Presidential salute of twenty-one guns, while above his ship circled a squadron of ten seaplanes from the Rockaway Naval Air Station, which were later joined by an American blimp, which sailed along just above the mast tops of the George Washington for more than ten miles.

The procession up the harbor formed a single column of ships more than three miles in length, the Pennsylvania leading, with the Oklahoma 1,000 yards astern, and the George Washington just astern of the last-named dreadnought. The forty destroyers, steaming in perfect alignment, followed the President's ship. The President and Mrs. Wilson were on the bridge of the George Washington, but the distance between transport and warships was too great to permit an interchange of greetings except by wireless telegraph and telephone, and it was not until the President landed at Hoboken that he had his opportunity personally to greet his daughters, Mrs. McAdoo and Mrs. Sayre, Vice President Marshall, and the members of the Cabinet who had come from Washington to take part in the official ceremony.

Vice President Marshall, who with the official party was aboard the Pennsylvania, wirelessly the following message to the President:

U. S. S. Pennsylvania, July 8.

Mr. President: We, who now salute you, are only the advance guard of that vast army of your fellow-countrymen who joyfully welcome you to the homeland, not to the hours of rest which your arduous duties so justly entitle you to, but in health of body and strength of mind to assist in the solution of those

vexing and intricate internal problems arising out of the world war so happily now concluded; to congratulate you upon the auspicious ending of your epoch-making mission and your possession while at the Peace Table of that rare blending of vision and common sense which enabled you to get all you could see and not to see anything you could not get; and to renew our pledge of loyalty and service so long as you shall continue to stand for the glory, the perpetuity, and the manifest destiny of the Republic.

THOMAS R. MARSHALL.

GREETED BY VAST THRONGS

The President's ship was met in the bay by officials of the city and State, headed by Governor Smith and Mayor Hylan with a large committee. The vessel docked at Hoboken at 3:10 P. M. The party was greeted by an immense throng, including thousands of school children. As the President proceeded, patriotic airs were sung by the children, while the multitudes everywhere acclaimed him with enthusiasm. He was driven across New York City by way of Twenty-third Street, and proceeded up Fifth Avenue to Carnegie Hall through hundreds of thousands of people, who gave him a noisy greeting. Practically all the way the President stood in the automobile doffing his silk hat in acknowledgment of the cheers.

At Carnegie Hall he was again vociferously cheered. He was formally welcomed in brief speeches by the Mayor and the Governor, and responded with a feeling address, in which he expressed his pleasure in being again on American soil and his appreciation of the welcome extended him. He paid a tribute to the fine bearing of the American soldiers in Europe and the confidence they inspired among all European peoples. He referred to the Peace Treaty as "a just peace," but made no allusion to any controversial points. His speech was warmly received.

Immediately after the address the President proceeded to the Pennsylvania Station and left for Washington, arriving there just before midnight on the 8th. He was greeted by an assemblage of 10,000 persons and formally welcomed by Jackson H. Ralston, Chairman of a Citizens' Committee.

Presenting the Treaty to the Senate

The President's Formal Address

PRESIDENT WILSON in person presented the Treaty of Versailles to the Senate of the United States on July 10 in a formal address which was listened to by the full membership of the Senate and by a brilliant audience that filled every available niche in the Chamber. Following is his address in full:

Gentlemen of the Senate:

The treaty of peace with Germany was signed at Versailles on June 28. I avail myself of the earliest opportunity to lay the treaty before you for ratification and to inform you with regard to the work of the conference by which that treaty was formulated.

The treaty constitutes nothing less than a world settlement. It would not be possible for me either to summarize or to construe its manifold provisions in an address which must of necessity be something less than a treatise. My services and all the information I possess will be at your disposal and at the disposal of your Committee on Foreign Relations at any time, either informally or in session, as you may prefer, and I hope that you will not hesitate to make use of them. I shall at this time, prior to your own study of the document, attempt only a general characterization of its scope and purpose.

In one sense, no doubt, there is no need that I should report to you what was attempted and done at Paris. You have been daily cognizant of what was going on there—of the problems with which the Peace Conference had to deal and of the difficulty of laying down straight lines of settlement anywhere on a field on which the old lines of international relationship, and the new alike, followed so intricate a pattern and were for the most part cut so deep by historical circumstances which dominated action where it would have been best to ignore or reverse them. The cross-currents of politics and of interest must have been evident to you.

It would be presuming in me to attempt to explain the questions which arose or the many diverse elements that entered into them. I shall attempt something less ambitious than that and more clearly suggested by my duty to report to the Congress the part it seemed necessary for my colleagues and me to play as the representatives of the Government of the United States.

That part was dictated by the rôle

America had played in the war and by the expectations that had been created in the minds of the peoples with whom we had associated ourselves in that great struggle.

The United States entered the war upon a different footing from every other nation except our associates on this side of the sea. We entered it, not because our material interests were directly threatened or because any special treaty obligations to which we were parties had been violated, but only because we saw the supremacy and even the validity of right everywhere put in jeopardy and free government likely to be everywhere imperilled by the intolerable aggression of a power which respected neither right nor obligation and whose very system of government flouted the rights of the citizen as against the autocratic authority of his governors.

And in the settlements of the peace we have sought no special reparation for ourselves, but only the restoration of right and the assurance of liberty everywhere that the effects of the settlement were to be felt. We entered the war as the disinterested champions of right and we interested ourselves in the terms of the peace in no other capacity.

OUR SOLDIERS IN FRANCE

The hopes of the nations allied against the Central Powers were at a very low ebb when our soldiers began to pour across the sea. There was everywhere among them, except in their stoutest spirits, a sombre foreboding of disaster.

The war ended in November, eight months ago, but you have only to recall what was feared in midsummer last, four short months before the armistice, to realize what it was that our timely aid accomplished alike for their morale and their physical safety. That first never-to-be-forgotten action at Château-Thierry had already taken place. Our redoubtable soldiers and marines had already closed the gap the enemy had succeeded in opening for their advance upon Paris—had already turned the tide of battle back toward the frontiers of France and begun the rout that was to save Europe and the world. Thereafter the Germans were to be always forced back, back, were never to thrust successfully forward again. And yet there was no confident hope.

Anxious men and women, leading spirits of France, attended the celebration of the Fourth of July last year in Paris out of

generous courtesy—with no heart for festivity, little zest for hope. But they came away with something new at their hearts. They have themselves told us so. The mere sight of our men—of their vigor, of the confidence that showed itself in every movement of their stalwart figures and every turn of their swinging march, in their steady, comprehending eyes and easy discipline, in the indomitable air that added spirit to everything they did—made every one who saw them that memorable day realize that something had happened that was much more than a mere incident in the fighting, something very different from the mere arrival of fresh troops.

A great moral force had flung itself into the struggle. The fine physical force of those spirited men spoke of something more than bodily vigor. They carried the great ideals of a free people at their hearts and with that vision were unconquerable. Their very presence brought reassurance; their fighting made victory certain.

They were recognized as crusaders, and as their thousands swelled into millions, their strength was seen to mean salvation. And they were fit men to carry such a hope and make good the assurance it forecast. Finer men never went into battle; and their officers were worthy of them.

This is not the occasion upon which to utter a eulogy of the armies America sent to France, but, perhaps since I am speaking of their mission, I may speak also of the pride I shared with every American who saw or dealt with them there. They were the sort of men America would wish to be represented by, the sort of men every American would wish to claim as fellow-countrymen and comrades in a great cause. They were terrible in battle and gentle and helpful out of it, remembering the mothers and the sisters, the wives and the little children at home. They were free men under arms, not forgetting their ideals of duty in the midst of tasks of violence. I am proud to have had the privilege of being associated with them and of calling myself their leader.

But I speak now of what they meant to the men by whose sides they fought and to the people with whom they mingled with such utter simplicity, as friends who asked only to be of service. They were for all the visible embodiment of America. What they did made America and all that she stood for a living reality in the thoughts not only of the people of France, but also of tens of millions of men and women throughout all the toiling nations of a world standing everywhere in peril of its freedom and of the loss of everything it held dear, in deadly fear that its

bonds were never to be loosed, its hopes forever to be mocked and disappointed.

AT THE PEACE TABLE

And the compulsion of what they stood for was upon us who represented America at the peace table. It was our duty to see to it that every decision we took part in contributed, so far as we were able to influence it, to quiet the fears and realize the hopes of the peoples who had been living in that shadow, the nations that had come by our assistance to their freedom. It was our duty to do everything that it was within our power to do to make the triumph of freedom and of right a lasting triumph in the assurance of which men might everywhere live without fear.

Old entanglements of every kind stood in the way—promises which Governments had made to one another in the days when might and right were confused and the power of the victor was without restraint. Engagements which contemplated any dispositions of territory, any extensions of sovereignty that might seem to be to the interest of those who had the power to insist upon them had been entered into without thought of what the peoples concerned might wish or profit by; and these could not always be honorably brushed aside.

It was not easy to graft the new order of ideas on the old, and some of the fruits of the grafting may, I fear, for a time be bitter. But, with very few exceptions, the men who sat with us at the peace table desired as sincerely as we did to get away from the bad influences, the illegitimate purposes, the demoralizing ambitions, the international counsels and expedients out of which the sinister designs of Germany had sprung as a natural growth.

It had been our privilege to formulate the principles which were accepted as the basis of the peace, but they had been accepted, not because we had come in to hasten and assure the victory and insisted upon them, but because they were readily acceded to as the principles to which honorable and enlightened minds everywhere had been bred. They spoke the conscience of the world as well as the conscience of America, and I am happy to pay my tribute of respect and gratitude to the able, forward-looking men with whom it was my privilege to cooperate for their unflinching spirit of cooperation, their constant effort to accommodate the interests they represented to the principles we were all agreed upon.

The difficulties, which were many, lay in the circumstances, not often in the men. Almost without exception the men who led had caught the true and full vision of the problem of peace as an indi-

visible whole, a problem not of mere adjustments of interest but of justice and right action.

EMPIRES IN BANKRUPTCY

The atmosphere in which the conference worked seemed created, not by the ambitions of strong government, but by the hopes and aspirations of small nations and of peoples hitherto under bondage to the power that victory had shattered and destroyed.

Two great empires had been forced into political bankruptcy, and we were the receivers. Our task was not only to make peace with the Central Empires and remedy the wrongs their armies had done. The Central Empires had lived in open violation of many of the very rights for which the war had been fought, dominating alien peoples over whom they had no natural right to rule, enforcing, not obedience, but veritable bondage; exploiting those who were weak for the benefit of those who were masters and overlords only by force of arms. There could be no peace until the whole order of Central Europe was set right.

That meant that new nations were to be created, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary itself. No part of ancient Poland had ever in any true sense become a part of Germany, or of Austria, or of Russia. Bohemia was alien in every thought and hope to the monarchy of which she had so long been an artificial part; and the uneasy partnership between Austria and Hungary had been one rather of interest than of kinship or sympathy. The Slavs whom Austria had chosen to force into her empire on the south were kept to their obedience by nothing but fear. Their hearts were with their kinsmen in the Balkans.

These were all arrangements of power, not arrangements of natural union or association. It was the imperative task of those who would make peace and make it intelligently, to establish a new order which would rest upon the free choice of peoples rather than upon the arbitrary authority of Hapsburgs or Hohenzollerns.

More than that, great populations bound by sympathy and actual kin to Rumania were also linked against their will to the conglomerate Austro-Hungarian Monarchy or to other alien sovereignties, and it was part of the task of peace to make a new Rumania, as well as a new Slavic State clustering about Serbia.

And no natural frontiers could be found to these new fields of adjustment and redemption. It was necessary to look constantly forward to other related tasks. The German colonies were to be disposed of. They had not been governed; they had been exploited merely, without thought of the interest, or even the

ordinary human rights, of their inhabitants.

The Turkish Empire, moreover, had fallen apart, as the Austro-Hungarian had. It had never had any real unity. It had been held together only by pitiless, inhuman force. Its peoples cried aloud for release, for succor from unspeakable distress, for all that the new day of hope seemed at last to bring within its dawn. Peoples hitherto in utter darkness were to be led out into the same light and given at last a helping hand. Undeveloped peoples and peoples ready for recognition but not yet ready to assume the full responsibilities of statehood were to be given adequate guarantees of friendly protection, guidance, and assistance.

VAST OPPORTUNITIES

And out of the execution of these great enterprises of liberty sprang opportunities to attempt what statesmen had never found the way before to do; an opportunity to throw safeguards about the rights of racial, national, and religious minorities by solemn international covenants; an opportunity to limit and regulate military establishments where they were most likely to be mischievous; an opportunity to effect a complete and systematic internationalization of waterways and railways which were necessary to the free economic life of more than one nation and to clear many of the normal channels of commerce of unfair obstructions of law or of privilege and the very welcome opportunity to secure for labor the concerted protection of definite international pledges of principle and practice.

These were not tasks which the Conference looked about it to find and went out of its way to perform. They were inseparable from the settlements of peace. They were thrust upon it by circumstances which could not be overlooked. The war had created them.

In all quarters of the world old-established relationships had been disturbed or broken and affairs were at loose ends, needing to be mended or united again, but could not be made what they were before. They had to be set right by applying some uniform principle of justice or enlightened expediency. And they could not be adjusted by merely prescribing in a treaty what should be done.

New States were to be set up which could not hope to live through their first period of weakness without assured support by the great nations that had consented to their creation and won for them their independence. Ill-governed colonies could not be put in the hands of Governments which were to act as trustees for their people and not as their masters if there was to be no common authority among the nations to which they were to

be responsible in the execution of their trust.

Future international conventions with regard to the control of waterways, with regard to illicit traffic of many kinds, in arms or in deadly drugs, or with regard to the adjustment of many varying international administrative arrangements, could not be assured, if the treaty were to provide no permanent common international agency, if its execution in such matters was to be left to the slow and uncertain processes of co-operation by ordinary methods of negotiation.

LEAGUE A NECESSITY

If the Peace Conference itself was to be the end of co-operative authority and common counsel among the Governments to which the world was looking to enforce justice and give pledges of an enduring settlement, regions like the Sarre Basin could not be put under a temporary administrative régime which did not involve a transfer of political sovereignty and which contemplated a final determination of its political connections by popular vote to be taken at a distant date; no free city like Danzig could be created which was, under elaborate international guarantees, to accept exceptional obligations with regard to the use of its port and exceptional relations with a State of which it was not to form a part; properly safeguarded plebiscites could not be provided for where populations were at some future date to make choice what sovereignty they would live under; no certain and uniform method of arbitration could be secured for the settlement of anticipated difficulties of final decision with regard to many matters dealt with in the treaty itself; the long-continued supervision of the task of reparation, which Germany was to undertake to complete within the next generation might entirely break down; the reconsideration and revision of administrative arrangements and restrictions which the treaty prescribed but which it was recognized might not prove of lasting advantage or entirely fair if too long enforced would be impracticable.

The promises Governments were making to one another about the way in which labor was to be dealt with, by law not only, but in fact as well, would remain a mere humane thesis if there was to be no common tribunal of opinion and judgment to which liberal statesmen could resort for the influences which alone might secure their redemption.

A league of free nations had become a practical necessity. Examine the treaty of peace and you will find that everywhere throughout its manifold provisions its framers have felt obliged to turn to the League of Nations as an indispensable instrumentality for the maintenance of the

new order it has been their purpose to set up in the world—the world of civilized men.

That there should be a League of Nations to steady the counsels and maintain the peaceful understandings of the world, to make, not treaties alone, but the accepted principles of international law as well, the actual rule of conduct among the Governments of the world had been one of the agreements accepted from the first as the basis of peace with the Central Powers.

The statesmen of all the belligerent countries were agreed that such a league must be created to sustain the settlements that were to be effected. But at first I think there was a feeling among some of them that, while it must be attempted, the formation of such a league was perhaps a counsel of perfection, which practical men, long experienced in the world of affairs, must agree to very cautiously and with many misgivings. It was only as the difficult work of arranging an all but universal adjustment of the world's affairs advanced from day to day from one stage of conference to another that it became evident to them that what they were seeking would be little more than something written upon paper, to be interpreted and applied by such methods as the chances of politics might make available, if they did not provide a means of common counsel which all were obliged to accept, a common authority whose decisions would be recognized as decisions which all must respect.

ADOPTED EVEN BY SKEPTICS

And so the most practical, the most skeptical among them turned more and more to the League as the authority through which international action was to be secured, the authority without which, as they had come to see it, it would be difficult to give assured effect either to this treaty or to any other international understanding upon which they were to depend for the maintenance of peace.

The fact that the covenant of the League was the first substantive part of the treaty to be worked out and agreed upon, while all else was in solution, helped to make the formulation of the rest easier. The Conference was, after all, not to be ephemeral. The concert of nations was to continue, under a definite covenant which had been agreed upon and which all were convinced was workable. They could go forward with confidence to make arrangements intended to be permanent.

The most practical of the conferees were at last the most ready to refer to the League of Nations the superintendence of all interests which did not admit of immediate determination, of all administrative problems which were to require a

continuing oversight. What had seemed a counsel of perfection had come to seem a plain counsel of necessity. The League of Nations was the practical statesman's hope of success in many of the most difficult things he was attempting.

PEOPLES DEMANDED LEAGUE

And it had validated itself in the thought of every member of the conference as something much bigger, much greater every way, than a mere instrument for carrying out the provisions of a particular treaty. It was universally recognized that all the peoples of the world demanded of the conference that it should create such a continuing concert of free nations as would make wars of aggression and spoliation such as this that has just ended forever impossible. A cry had gone out from every home in every stricken land from which sons and brothers and fathers had gone forth to the great sacrifice that such a sacrifice should never again be exacted. It was manifest why it had been exacted. It had been exacted because one nation desired dominion and other nations had known no means of defense except armaments and alliances.

War had lain at the heart of every arrangement of the Europe—of every arrangement of the world—that preceded the war. Restive peoples had been told that fleets and armies, which they toiled to sustain, meant peace; and they now knew that they had been lied to; that fleets and armies had been maintained to promote national ambitions and meant war. They knew that no old policy meant anything else but force, force—always force. And they knew that it was intolerable.

Every true heart in the world, and every enlightened judgment demanded that, at whatever cost of independent action, every Government that took thought for its people or for justice or for ordered freedom should lend itself to a new purpose and utterly destroy the old order of international politics.

Statesmen might see difficulties, but the people could see none and could brook no denial. A war in which they had been bled white to beat the terror that lay concealed in every balance of power must not end in a mere victory of arms and a new balance. The monster that had resorted to arms must be put in chains that could not be broken. The united power of free nations must put a stop to aggression, and the world must be given peace. If there was not the will or the intelligence to accomplish that now, there must be another and a final war and the world must be swept clean of every power that could renew the terror.

The League of Nations was not merely an instrument to adjust and remedy old wrongs under a new treaty of peace; it was the only hope for mankind. Again

and again had the demon of war been cast out of the house of the peoples and the house swept clean by a treaty of peace, only to prepare a time when he would enter in again with spirits worse than himself. The house must now be given a tenant who could hold it against all such.

Convenient, indeed indispensable, as statesmen found the newly planned League of Nations to be for the execution of present plans of peace and reparation, they saw it in a new aspect before their work was finished. They saw it as the main object of the peace, as the only thing that could complete it or make it worth while. They saw it as the hope of the world, and that hope they did not dare to disappoint.

Shall we or any other free people hesitate to accept this great duty? Dare we reject it and break the heart of the world?

And so the result of the conference of peace, so far as Germany is concerned, stands complete. The difficulties encountered were very many. Sometimes they seemed insuperable. It was impossible to accommodate the interests of so great a body of nations—interests which directly or indirectly affected almost every nation in the world—without many minor compromises.

The treaty, as a result, is not exactly what we would have written. It is probably not what any one of the national delegations would have written. But results were worked out which on the whole bear test. I think that it will be found that the compromises, which were accepted as inevitable, nowhere cut to the heart of any principle. The work of the conference squares, as a whole, with the principles agreed upon as the basis of the peace as well as with the practical possibilities of the international situations which had to be faced and dealt with as facts.

I shall presently have occasion to lay before you a special treaty with France, whose object is the temporary protection of France from unprovoked aggression by the power with whom this treaty of peace has been negotiated. Its terms link it with this treaty. I take the liberty, however, of reserving it for special explanation on another occasion.

WORK SET BY CIRCUMSTANCES

The rôle which America was to play in the conference seemed determined, as I have said, before my colleagues and I got to Paris—determined by the universal expectations of the nations whose representatives, drawn from all quarters of the globe, we were to deal with. It was universally recognized that America had entered the war to promote no private or peculiar interest of her own, but only as

the champion of rights which she was glad to share with free men and lovers of justice everywhere.

We had formulated the principles upon which the settlement was to be made—the principles upon which the armistice had been agreed to and the parleys of peace undertaken—and no one doubted that our desire was to see the treaty of peace formulated along the actual lines of those principles—and desired nothing else. We were welcomed as disinterested friends. We were resorted to as arbiters in many a difficult matter.

It was recognized that our material aid would be indispensable in the days to come, when industry and credit would have to be brought back to their normal operation again and communities beaten to the ground assisted to their feet once more, and it was taken for granted, I am proud to say, that we would play the helpful friend in these things as in all others without prejudice or favor. We were generously accepted as the unaffected champions of what was right.

It was a very responsible rôle to play; but I am happy to report that the fine group of Americans, who helped with their expert advice in each part of the varied settlements, sought in every transaction to justify the high confidence reposed in them. And that confidence, it seems to me, is the measure of our opportunity and of our duty in the days to come.

AMERICA AS WORLD POWER

America may be said to have just reached her majority as a world power. It was almost exactly twenty-one years ago that the results of the war with Spain put us unexpectedly in possession of rich islands on the other side of the world and brought us into association with other Governments in the control of the West Indies.

It was regarded as a sinister and ominous thing by the statesmen of more than one European Chancellery that we should have extended our power beyond the confines of our continental dominions. They were accustomed to think of new neighbors as a new menace, of rivals as watchful enemies.

There were persons among us at home who looked with deep disapproval and avowed anxiety on such extensions of our national authority over distant islands and over peoples whom they feared we might exploit, not serve and assist. But we have not exploited them. We have been their friends and have sought to serve them. And our dominion has been a menace to no other nation. We redeemed our honor to the utmost in our dealings with Cuba. She is weak but absolutely free, and it is her trust in us that makes her free.

Weak peoples everywhere stand ready to give us any authority among them that will assure them a like friendly oversight and direction. They know that there is no ground for fear in receiving us as their mentors and guides.

Our isolation was ended twenty years ago, and now fear of us is ended also, our counsel and association sought after and desired. There can be no question of our ceasing to be a world power. The only question is whether we can refuse the moral leadership that is offered us, whether we shall accept or reject the confidence of the world.

The war and the conference of peace, now sitting in Paris, seem to me to have answered that question. Our participation in the war established our position among the nations, and nothing but our own mistaken action can alter it. It was not an accident or a matter of sudden choice that we are no longer isolated and devoted to a policy which has only our own interest and advantage for its object. It was our duty to go in, if we were, indeed, the champions of liberty and of right.

We answered to the call of duty in a way so spirited, so utterly without thought of what we spent of blood or treasure, so effective, so worthy of the admiration of true men everywhere, so wrought out of the stuff of all that was heroic that the whole world saw at last, in the flesh, in noble action, a great ideal asserted and vindicated by a nation they had deemed material and now found to be compact of the spiritual forces that must free men of every nation from every unworthy bondage. It is thus that a new rôle and a new responsibility have come to this great nation that we honor and which we would all wish to lift to yet higher levels of service and achievement.

The stage is set, the destiny disclosed. It has come about by no plan of our conceiving, but by the hand of God, who led us into this way. We cannot turn back. We can only go forward, with lifted eyes and freshened spirit, to follow the vision. It was of this that we dreamed at our birth. America shall in truth show the way. The light streams upon the path ahead, and nowhere else.

Strong opposition to certain features of the treaty, especially to the League of Nations covenant, had long been developing in the Senate, and the President's address was greeted with limited applause on the Republican side. The debate over the ratification of the treaty, which began on July 14 with a three-hour speech by Senator Swanson of Virginia in support of the League, was only getting fairly under way when this issue of CURRENT HISTORY went to press.

In the French and British Parliaments

Speeches of Two Premiers

PREMIER CLEMENCEAU presented the treaty to the French Chamber on June 30. After depositing the treaty and the conventions between France and the United States and between France and Great Britain on the table in the Chamber, M. Clemenceau said:

As to the conditions of the treaty itself and the spirit that inspired it, I do not desire to anticipate the discussion which must take place here. However, at the hour when the greatest drama of history is closing, when we are still under the emotion of supreme duties magnificently accomplished, the first impulse of our souls should be of hope for France, as much as for humanity—the French ideal, the humanitarian ideal.

We may, and we ought, publicly to attest this common thought under the eyes of our great ancestors, the continuation of whose patriotic work is our price. What joy without bounds when from this tribune the final word is given!

By France and by our allies the work of the salvation of the world from peril is accomplished, on the single condition that we remain at our posts of duty.

The old spirit of warlike domination is perhaps mastered forever. The day has come when force and justice, which were dangerously separated, must be rejoined for the peace of peoples that humanity may live. That peace we want with a will that nothing should shake. We will make that peace, as we made war, without weakness.

Internal peace as a foundation for external peace requires the bringing to an end of old conflicts.

M. Clemenceau dwelt at length on the necessity of reconciling opposing interests and opinions, referred to the troubles of 1871, and added:

The military *révanche* has come. Even in defeat, we had begun our moral *révanche*! In victory we will complete it. Too long have we dissipated our forces in political and social conflicts.

M. Clemenceau referred to the errors of German judgment concerning France, and Germany's preparations to subjugate her. He pointed to the result, and said in conclusion:

It is true that our fields have been ravaged, our villages and towns razed. The élite of our young manhood reposes

in our sacred soil, enshrouded in glory. All our wealth has been spent without measure; our best blood has been shed from all our pores; tears have furrowed all faces; all hearts have trembled with unspeakable horror. But the tears, the suffering, and the blood from our wounds have left us better, higher, greater, and more completely French.

France is erect, alive and strong in its will for justice, as in the military virtues of its great soldiers. Now, every one to the task, to accomplish the duties of tomorrow! In peace, as in war, social union remains the very foundation of the country that we shall not have saved from the barbarian in order to rend it asunder by parricide hands.

Consideration of the treaty by the Chamber was postponed until Aug. 1.

IN BRITISH PARLIAMENT

Premier Lloyd George returned to London June 29 and met with an unprecedented reception. The King and the Prince of Wales paid him the honor of being at the station to meet him, and insisted that he drive with them to Buckingham Palace to receive the congratulations of the Queen. Enormous throngs were massed upon the streets, and everywhere he was acclaimed with triumphant cheers. His first appearance in Parliament was the occasion of another notable greeting, the entire House rising to acclaim him. He appeared before Parliament on July 3 to present the Peace Treaty and delivered a formal address. The most of his speech was a report to the House regarding features of the Peace Treaty. He indicated that he was finally satisfied of the excellence of the work he had done, and also alive to the criticisms it would meet and the use that might be made of it in domestic politics. No small part of his speech was devoted to answering the criticisms of those who hold that the terms are too hard.

After a tribute to the assistance he had received from Balfour, Barnes, the Dominion Ministers, and the Government experts, he drew an eloquent contrast between the Germany of 1914 and the Germany of today. There was no gloat-

ing over the plight to which she was reduced; the Premier merely pointed out the facts and stated that from his point of view the terms she would have exacted if she had been successful were terrible.

This gave him his text and he took up the challenge of his labor critics, carrying the House through the main outlines of the settlement, the liberation of oppressed territory, the reduction of amendments, the trial of the ex-Kaiser and others, and asked defiantly which one of these was unjust.

All through his speech the Prime Minister kept before the House his horror of what had happened and the miseries of the war. This was the background of his speech, and again and again it cropped out as being ever in his mind as he had helped to negotiate the settlement. He never hid for a moment his belief in the guilt of all the German people.

APPEAL FOR FRENCH PACT

He made a strong appeal for approval of the proposed treaty with France, by which the latter should be guaranteed against unprovoked attack, and urged the House to accept the League of Nations as an honest and hopeful attempt to prevent wars.

"Let's try it," he cried. "If we had only had an agreement for an inquiry into international disputes five years ago the United States would have been in the war from the first day."

Then he summarized the achievements of the British Empire in the war and made an earnest plea for continued unity in the troublous days ahead.

Discussing the determination of the allied and associated powers to place on trial William Hohenzollern, the former German Emperor, as the man held chiefly responsible for the war, he declared that if such a course had been followed after other wars "there would have been fewer wars." It was the intention to make such an example of Germany as to discourage others from "ever again attempting to repeat this infamy."

"The world is rocking and reeling under the blow that failed," the Premier said. "If the blow had succeeded the liberty of Europe would have vanished."

The terms of the treaty with Germany in some respects were terrible, the Premier said, but terrible were the deeds which justified it and still more terrible would have been the consequences if Germany had succeeded.

A PEACE OF RESTORATION

Speaking of the territorial terms of the treaty, Mr. Lloyd George said that the territory taken from Germany was a matter of restoration. It was a restoration, he declared, of Alsace-Lorraine, taken forcibly from the land to which its population was deeply attached; it was a restoration of Schleswig-Holstein, the taking of which he described as the "meanest of Hohenzollern frauds, robbing a helpless country in the pretense they were not doing it and then retaining the land against the wishes of the population"; it was a restoration of "a Poland torn to bits by Russian, Austrian, and Prussian autocracy and now reknit under the flag of Poland." He added, "They are all territories which ought not to belong to Germany."

The British delegation, the Premier said, has taken a stand resolutely opposing any attempt to put a predominantly German population under Polish rule, as it would be foolish to have another Alsace-Lorraine in Europe.

I do not think any one can claim the terms imposed constitute injustice to Germany, [the Premier remarked in discussing the reparation clause,] unless they believe justice in the war was on the side of Germany. Having regard to the uses Germany made of her army, there is no injustice in scattering and disarming it. If the Allies had restored the colonies to Germany after the evidence of ill-treatment of the natives, and the part the natives have taken in their own liberation, it would have been a base betrayal.

Then take the trial of those responsible for the war. If wars of this kind are to be prevented, those personally responsible for them, who have taken part in plotting and planning them, should be held personally responsible. Therefore, the Entente decided that the man who undoubtedly had the primary responsibility, in the judgment, at any rate, of the Allies, should be tried for the offenses he committed in breaking treaties he was bound to honor, and by that means bringing on the war.

It was an exceptional course, and it's a pity it was, because if it had been done

before there would have been fewer wars. The allied countries unanimously decided that a tribunal (an interallied one) should sit at London for the trial of the person chiefly responsible for the war.

Those guilty of submarine outrages ought to be punished, for the officers should know that they would be held personally responsible for offenses against the laws of war.

German officers who had committed appalling infamies would also be placed on trial.

NOT A VENGEFUL PEACE

The Premier argued that it was not vengeance "to take every possible precaution against a recurrence of the war and to make such an example of Germany as will discourage ambitious rulers and peoples from ever again attempting to repeat this infamy. The German people approved the war, and, therefore, it was essential in the terms to show, if nations enter into unprovoked wars of aggression against their neighbors, what lies in store for them."

The German Army, the Premier said, was at present inadequate to disturb the peace of the feeblest of the neighbors of Germany.

After referring to guarantees in the treaty, such as disarmament, which he declared should not be a "scrap of paper," the Premier spoke on the bill dealing with the American and British guarantees in the event of an unprovoked attack on France, saying that he did not suppose any section of the House would oppose that. His reference to the Anglo-American agreement was loudly cheered.

It is entered into with the approval of the League of Nations, [the Premier asserted.] Within living memory, France twice has been invaded by Germany. With her population of 40,000,000 facing a hostile population of 60,000,000 or 70,000,000, France had legitimate reason for feeling nervous apprehension when the British and American armies left.

I do not agree that the treaties showed lack of faith in the League of Nations. After all, the League would have no value unless it had behind it strong nations, prepared at a moment's notice to stop aggression.

France was quite prepared, said the Premier, to reconsider at the proper time the question of the occupation of the Rhine. There was an understanding with

France, but the moment Germany carried out her undertaking regarding disarmament, the cost of the army of occupation should not exceed 240,000,000 marks a year.

FOR THE LEAGUE

Lastly, there was the guarantee of the League of Nations, a great and hopeful experiment, only rendered possible by other conditions. Without disarmament, the League convention, like the other conventions, would be blown away by the first gust of war.

"Let us earnestly try it," exclaimed the Premier. "Had it been in existence in 1914 it would have been difficult for Germany and Austria to make war, and if they had, America would have been in the first day instead of two years after."

The Premier argued that it would have been a mistake to let Germany into the League while there were questions resulting from the war that still remained to be settled. It was for Germany herself to accelerate the date of her entry by showing that the fire of war had purified her soul. The sooner she entered, the better it would be for Germany and the world.

After referring to the disposition of the colonies and to the labor convention, Mr. Lloyd George, reviewing Great Britain's part in the war and the treaty, described it as a tremendous achievement. He said he was not sure that the great commonwealth of nations, known as the British Empire, yet realized the great part it had in the achievement.

He then passed to a brief review of the men who joined the colors, the money raised, and the sacrifices of men and material made by the empire. He concluded with these words:

It is a great record. Let us rejoice, but rejoice as men under no delusion that our troubles are ended, but rather like men who feel that the first and worst of our troubles are passed and that the spirit, courage, and resolution which enabled us to overcome them will also enable us cheerfully to face what is to come. Let us not waste strength prematurely in fighting each other. I say with all solemnity that if we wish to save this country from sinking under its burdens, and the world's, we must make the most effective use of the resources of the country and the empire.

ARGENTINA FIRST TO RATIFY LEAGUE

The Argentine Senate on July 5 unanimously approved the entrance of Argen-

tina into the League of Nations without reservations, being the first nation to assent to the covenant through its treaty ratifying board.

Germany's Ratification of the Treaty

Bill Passed by the National Assembly at Weimar on July 9 After a Brief Debate

THE German National Assembly ratified the Peace Treaty by a vote of 208 to 115 on July 9; 99 Deputies did not vote. The text of the ratification resolution consisted of two clauses, reading as follows:

The peace treaty between Germany and the allied and associated powers, signed on June 28, 1919, and the protocol belonging thereto, as well as the agreement relative to the occupation of the Rhineland, signed the same day, are agreed to.

This law comes into force on the day of its promulgation.

Most of the Ministers were present at the meeting of the National Assembly, and there was a full attendance of Deputies. Dr. Hermann Müller, the Foreign Minister, in introducing the Government bills, explained that the hastening of the ratification order would bring about the lifting of the blockade. "We are about to enter upon a forty years' march through a desert," he said. "I can find no other term for the path of suffering which fulfillment of the treaty prescribes for us."

Dr. Peter Spahn, leader of the Catholic Centre Party, said: "We agreed to the treaty, under hard compulsion, to save ourselves from anarchy, and to preserve the Fatherland from internal ruin."

Herr Kreizig, Socialist; Professor Schücking, Democrat; Dr. Traub, National Party, and Herr Kahl, People's Party, all spoke, violently protesting against the injustice of the treaty, the impossibility of its fulfillment, and declaring that the day of Germany's liberation would come.

At the opening of the session the Conservatives introduced a resolution which would make ratification dependent upon the judgment of recognized authorities on international law as to whether the

proposed international court could institute trial and could, with retroactive jurisdiction and authority, impose penalties which have not heretofore been prescribed in international law. The resolution was aimed at the enforcement of Articles 227 to 230, inclusive, of the Peace Treaty, (providing for the trial of the former Emperor and of other Germans accused of causing the war or of violations of the rules of war.) It also provided for the establishment of a neutral court to pass upon the question of responsibility for the conflict.

The bill ratifying the treaty passed the first reading, and then a recess was taken to give the parties an opportunity to discuss the resolution. After fifteen minutes the Assembly reconvened, and Dr. Schiffer, National Liberal leader and former Minister of Finance, stated that he regretted the introduction of the resolution, as it would only serve to confuse the situation. A Clerical speaker said that the time for reservations had passed. The Conservatives defended the resolution, but it was decisively beaten.

The treaty bill was then taken up and quickly passed second and third readings, with the opposition coming from Democrats, National Liberals, and Conservatives. Dr. Bernhard Dernburg, former Minister of Finance; Friedrich von Payer, former Imperial Vice Chancellor, and a few other Democrats voted for ratification.

OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS DELIVERED

The official documents verifying the ratification reached the French Foreign Office on July 11.

The German ratification document consisted of the text of the Peace Treaty, the annexes, and the convention dealing

with the occupation of the Rhineland. The ratification concluded with the following paragraph:

Having been approved by the legislative body of the German Empire, and having been submitted to me, I declare that I ratify the treaty, protocol, and convention, and I promise to fulfill and insure the execution of their clauses.

(Signed) EBERT,

President of the German Empire.
Berlin, 9th of July, 1919.

The document contained an exact reproduction of the text of the Peace Treaty in French and English, and was printed on vellum paper, bound by white silk ribbon. It was inclosed in a brown morocco portfolio.

Beside the signature of President Ebert was his seal, a paper wafer bearing the words, "The President of the German Empire." The seal did not contain the imperial eagle.

How Peace Came to Germany

Political Crisis and Social Disturbances That Attended the Ordeal of Signing the Treaty

[PERIOD ENDED JULY 15, 1919]

THE principal events recorded in Germany were the fall of the Scheidemann Cabinet on its refusal to sign the Peace Treaty, the formation of a Cabinet by Gustav Adolph Bauer pledged to that policy, and the final ratification of the treaty by the Ebert Government at Berlin. The immediate effect of the signing was a blaze of indignation in the Junker press and depression among the people. Later, this developed into a strong current of national feeling, directed largely by the firm hand of Minister of Defense Noske. The same hand kept the Communists, Spartacans, and reactionary elements under control, though continued strikes, especially that of the railway workers, caused the Government some uneasiness. The former Kaiser came in for wide public attention owing to the announcement by Premier Lloyd George in the House of Commons that the Allies had decided to bring him to trial in London.

From June 15 onward the political situation at Weimar developed great uncertainty. The determination of Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau not to sign the Peace Treaty without radical changes strengthened the anti-treaty influences both in and outside the Scheidemann Cabinet. In Berlin a general printers' strike deprived the capital of reliable

news and left it a prey to the wildest rumors.

By June 19 party lines had dissolved in regard to the Peace Treaty, and events were moving toward the inevitable crisis which would clear the political atmosphere. A Cabinet meeting on the previous day to hear the unanimous rejection report of the Versailles delegates—a diplomat, a pacifist, a merchant, a jurist, and two labor leaders—resulted in a line of sharp division in the Cabinet. Scheidemann, von Brockdorff-Rantzau, Giesberts, Landsberg, and Dernburg were said to be against signing, while Erzberger, David, and Noske stood for the affirmative. Followed long-continued sessions of the Cabinet throughout the 19th and into the 20th. At one time Dr. Eduard David was inclined to accept the Premiership, but his personal colleagues failed to gather to his support. Meantime the various parties held conferences over the momentous question, with the pro-treaty element gaining steadily. A vote taken by the three principal parties showed: Majority Socialists, 75 in favor of signing the treaty and 30 against; Democrats, 1 in favor (Baron von Richthofen) and 58 against; Centrists, 4 in favor of unconditional acceptance and 69 for conditional acceptance.

THE NEW CABINET

By the 21st the Scheidemann Cabinet had reached an impasse and resigned. Thereupon a new Government was announced under the Premiership of Herr Bauer, former Minister of Labor, with Dr. Hermann Müller, the Majority Socialist leader, as Minister of Foreign Affairs. Other members of the Cabinet were:

Vice Premier and Minister of Finance—**MATHIAS ERZBERGER.**

Minister of the Interior—**Dr. EDUARD DAVID.**

Economics—**Herr WISSELL.**

Labor—**Herr SCHLICKE.**

Treasury—**Her MEYER.**

Posts and Telegraphs—**Herr GIESBERTS.**

Chief of the Colonial Office—**Dr. BELL.**

National Defense—**GUSTAV NOSKE.**

Food—**Dr. SCHMIDT.**

Gustav Adolph Bauer and Hermann Müller were comparatively unknown before the revolution. Herr Bauer was a former Independent Socialist member of the Reichstag, and, since the Chancellorship of Prince Max, had held the position of Minister of Labor in all succeeding Governments. Herr Müller had been one of the most conspicuous delegates at the International Socialist Conference at Berne the previous February. On June 22 Herr Bauer appeared before the National Assembly to declare the intention of his Cabinet to sign the Peace Treaty. He said in part:

At this hour of life and death, under the menace of invasion, for the last time I raise in free Germany a protest against this treaty of violence and destruction. I protest against this mockery of self-determination, this enslavement of the German people, this new menace to the peace of the world under the mask of a treaty of peace. No signing can enfeeble this protest, which we raise and swear to. This treaty does not lose its annihilating character by alterations in detail. Protesting against it is useless and is at the risk of a new crisis within forty-eight hours.

Our power of resistance is broken and there is no means of averting this treaty. The treaty itself, however, does give us a handle, which we cannot allow to be wrested from us, namely—the Entente's solemn promise of June 16 that the treaty can be revised from time to time and adapted to new conditions. That is one of the few words in the treaty breathing the real spirit of peace.

ACCEPTING THE INEVITABLE

Following this announcement the National Assembly debated signing the treaty without reserve. The scene was described as funereal. An orchestra in a nearby beer garden played doleful airs, which floated into the chamber. During the session news of the sinking of the German fleet at Scapa Flow arrived; many delegates hailed it as a heroic exemplification of German spirit, others regarded it as likely to add to Germany's financial burden. Herr Bauer, in solemn black attire, struggled through a speech characterized as a funeral oration over Germany's plans of 1914. He asserted that even out of the dark hours which he pictured ahead a better future might grow through a world revolution.

The only notable speech was that of Hugo Haase, Independent Socialist leader. Herr Haase rose in a half empty chamber to bring all the members back to their seats. He whipped the Majority Socialists to anger by his unmerciful handling of their share in the responsibility for the war. Then he calmly put forward his motion "That the National Assembly agrees to the signature of the treaty of peace," making no reservations.

Amid some protests Haase's resolution was voted upon. When President Fehrenbach rang his bell he announced in quiet tones, "380 votes, of which 227 are for and 138 against the resolution." Thus, by a majority of 99 the National Assembly had declared in favor of signing peace without reservations. In the words of a correspondent, "there was no cheering, but a load of anxiety seemed to be lifted from every one's shoulders. It was the end of a nightmare."

In an interview Premier Bauer was quoted as saying that Germany would endeavor to carry out the provisions of the Peace Treaty, "in order to wipe out the hate and defiance in the world and create friendly relations with the workers of all countries."

He concluded by declaring that "only international collaboration would lighten the servitude and misery of the world's proletariats."

On July 7 ratification of the treaty was approved by the Federal Committee.

Two days later, July 9, the National Assembly at Weimar voted for ratification by 208 to 115, a majority of 93. The resolution read as follows:

The Peace Treaty signed on June 28, 1919, as well as the protocol annexed and special agreements on military occupation of the Rhineland are hereby ratified. The law becomes effective from the date of its promulgation.

President Ebert issued a formal notice of ratification the same day.

RECEPTION OF THE NEWS

"Der Kreis ist aus! Gott sei dank!" This remark by an old German standing in front of the Coblenz bulletin board which on June 24 announced that the Weimar National Assembly had decided to approve the Peace Treaty, was the keynote of general feeling throughout the Rhineland. As the news had been discounted, there was no public demonstration over the event.

In Berlin an atmosphere of profound gloom settled upon the city. On the 29th several papers appeared with black borders on their Versailles articles, beneath such headings as "Germany's Fate Sealed" and "Peace With Annihilation." In the Tageblatt Theodore Wolff prophesied that the Versailles Treaty was bound to prove a mere scrap of paper. In the Deutsche Tageszeitung Count von Reventlow remarked that President Wilson was right when, in one of his last speeches, he said: "We expose Germany to the contempt of the whole world." Dr. Dernburg wrote in the Tageblatt: "The cup is drained to the dregs. There is no sense in continuing the controversy. It is better to endeavor quickly to find our feet. The concessions made to us are not without value, and open the way to certain alleviations." The Freiheit, Lokal-Anzeiger, and Vorwärts all protested against the idea of revenge. The Pan-German Deutsche Zeitung was suppressed for printing the headline, "Revenge for the Dishonor of 1919." Commenting on the treaty, the Lokal-Anzeiger said:

When this paper reaches our readers the thing will be done in the Mirror Gallery at Versailles by which the Entente, with brutal force, will have heaped insult upon injury. The German delegates will have signed the so-called Peace Treaty. To

imagine such a thing and remain calm is extremely difficult. Our emotions seem irrepressible, but we must learn to keep them within bounds.

ATTACKING PRESIDENT WILSON

The Evangelical Churches of Germany set aside Sunday, July 6, as a day of mourning. It was announced that the church bells would chime a hymn suitable to the occasion, and the people were requested to observe the day quietly and devote it to the resolve of making an earnest effort to recuperate by consistent work.

On June 29 the reactionary papers had paused in their song of hatred and revenge to direct their fire upon President Wilson. Socialist, Democratic, and Centrist publications joined in this condemnation, though more reserved in phraseology. The most remarkable of these diatribes came from Theodore Wolff in the Tageblatt. Here is a typical passage:

In those faraway times when Wilson spoke in the name of right and humanity, when the Lusitania was sunk, when his efforts at mediation were brutally frustrated and our U-boat fanatics promised to lick the whole Anglo-Saxon world, it was necessary to oppose those who drove us into the catastrophe that even then began to reveal itself to the clear sighted. But later there will be no reason to ape those enthusiasts who swung the incense box before Willson, believing they had discovered a new world savior.

At last he came to Europe, a physician clothed with the highest authority, and now he returns to America a poor, misguided, badly bungling quack doctor, secretly derided by his own allies. As even his rhetorical "stunts" permitted us to anticipate, Wilson was a true type of those professors of whom we ourselves have seen enough during this war, who for themselves claim the right to judge with unshakable positiveness things they do not know. He was not a marble bust, but wax in the hands of the Polish piano virtuoso and female amateur politicians. Should Americans hail him as a great man, they must be very naïve, indeed.

ATTEMPTS AT REVOLUTION

On June 18 Weimar had reported a midnight attempt by fifty Spartacans and Communists, recently released from jail, to force their way into the castle and seize President Ebert, Chancellor Scheidemann, and General Noske. They

surprised and disarmed the castle guard, then began firing through the windows. This roused the castle troops. After a sharp engagement the Spartacans were routed. Later in the night a band of Erfurt Communists arrived to carry out a plan to raid Weimar simultaneously with the attack on the castle. It failed more quickly than the first attempt. Several casualties among the rioters resulted.

An approach to a military crisis occupied the Berlin press of June 24. A large number of Generals and officers of the volunteer troops threatened to resign if the Peace Treaty were signed without reservations. Major Gen. Baron von Luettwitz and Major von Gilsa, Adjutant to General Noske, were conspicuous in what, for the moment, was thought to be the initial stage of a military revolt. General Noske, however, succeeded in recalling the protestors to a sense of military discipline in view of the perilous condition of Germany. In Berlin on the same date a number of German officers and soldiers seized fifteen flags which had been captured from the French in 1870, and which were to be restored under the Peace Treaty, and publicly burned them near the statue of Frederick the Great. As the flags were tossed to the flames the crowd sang "Deutschland

über Alles." More or less serious mob violence was in evidence, especially in Berlin and Hamburg, throughout the week of the signing of peace. General Noske issued a proclamation declaring that the Government would ruthlessly suppress disorders, and that it reserved the right to institute martial law.

Difficulties regarding the treaty stipulations with reference to Poland again came to the front on June 28. Premier Bauer granted an interview, which, though not without bitterness, indicated a desire to carry out the conditions with absolute honesty. The announced dismissal of Generals Hoffman and von Below on grounds of disloyalty was said to indicate that other Generals were suspected of favoring reactionary plans for East Prussia. The 200,000 German citizens of Danzig were reported to have been cast into the deepest gloom by their disposition under the Peace Treaty. A Coblenz message of June 30 informed of new activities designed to bring about the establishment of a Rhenish republic under sanction of the German National Government.

Following the expulsion of the Spartacans from Munich a new Bavarian Government was established with Johannes Hoffmann (Socialist) as Premier.

Preparations for Trial of the Former Kaiser

Premier Lloyd George in a speech on the Peace Treaty before the House of Commons on July 3 definitely announced that the ex-Kaiser would be tried by an international tribunal in London composed of five eminent jurists representing Great Britain, the United States, France, Italy, and Japan. All through the speech the Premier dwelt upon the horrors and miseries of the war as justifying the terms of the treaty and the trial of the Kaiser. He intimated also that submarine commanders and other German officers who had committed acts contrary to the law of nations would be placed on trial.

In England the announcement was greeted with a good deal of unfavorable comment, and in the United States the

tendency was to deem such a trial as of doubtful advisability. France was inclined to look askance at the choice of London for the place of trial. In Holland the press voiced general indignation, holding that, while the League of Nations might demand the surrender the Hohenzollerns and the Dutch Government might banish them on the ground that they had no passports, the ex-Kaiser could never be extradited for the offenses mentioned in the Peace Treaty. When the Allies sent a note to the Dutch Government asking it to take measures to prevent the Kaiser and Crown Prince from leaving Holland, that Government answered rather curtly that Holland was fully conscious of her international obligations, but that she must remain free

to exercise her sovereign rights as she deemed fit. Meantime the former Emperor was chiefly occupied in negotiating with the German Government for a settlement of his financial affairs.

Publication of the clause in the treaty which referred to the surrender and trial of the Kaiser caused increasing counter-activity in Germany. On June 25 Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg, the former Chancellor, addressed a communication to Premier Clemenceau and the Peace Conference asserting that he was responsible for Germany's official acts during his term of office and asking that the projected proceedings against William Hohenzollern be taken against him (Bethmann) instead. A similar move was made by Prince Eitel Fritz and the Kaiser's other sons, and on July 5 Field Marshal von Hindenburg telegraphed the following message to President Ebert:

The signing of the Peace Treaty gives me occasion for declaring that I was responsible for the decisions and acts of Main Headquarters since Aug. 29, 1916, and also that all proclamations and orders of his Majesty, the Emperor and King, concerning the waging of warfare were issued upon my advice and upon my responsibility. I beg you, therefore, to inform the German people and the allied Governments of this declaration.

Prince Henry of Prussia, brother of the former Emperor, sent a telegram on July 9 to King George of England begging him to desist from the effort to extradite the ex-Kaiser and asserting that the Kaiser and his counselors had used every effort to avert the war. Prince Friedrich Wilhelm of Lippe offered himself and other German Princes as a substitute to be extradited instead of the former war lord, at the same time addressing this appeal to the German dynasties:

Germany, exhausted and defenseless, has granted to the enemy powers the satisfaction of revenging themselves on our Kaiser, whose possession they envied us not long ago. His humiliation also hits us. Are we standing aside while the Kaiser goes to Golgotha? That must not be. We German Princes who followed the Kaiser in peace and war must now stand in front of him and tell the enemy to take us instead. Let us show the enemy that German fidelity is still alive. We who were the first to offer our lives on the battlefield must now sacrifice them for the Kaiser.

The outcry in Junker circles against the trial of the Kaiser continued to grow during the succeeding weeks and was attended by the organization of considerable bodies of officers in Berlin and other centres, pledged to do everything possible to prevent such a humiliation of their former leader.

Meanwhile the efforts of the Pan-German League to obtain the return of the former Kaiser and Crown Prince to German soil continued to be unavailing. Its petition to that effect had been answered on May 27 by Minister of the Interior Heine, who stated definitely that Parliament would not consent to the return of the ex-Kaiser. He pointed out that the presence of the Hohenzollerns might cause the republican Government more or less serious trouble, and added:

The German people might shield a man like Hindenburg, whom all respect for his unswerving devotion, duty, and patriotism, but would never do that for Wilhelm, who, with whatever grounds, is generally regarded as responsible for the monstrous calamity of the war and its consequences. Neither Wilhelm nor any of his clique can expect the German people to raise a hand in their defense, and what little sympathy the Hohenzollerns still have among certain classes would disappear quickly if they in any way exerted political activity.

Nobody knows what happened exactly during the last few days before the outbreak of the war, but the whole German people for years witnessed the Kaiser's conduct that made war unpreventable, though he may not have intended it. It is true that Hindenburg, too, has mixed in politics, or perhaps his name was used by others for bad politics, but he is an old man, who will be forgiven for the sake of his other fine human qualities, while Wilhelm and the Crown Prince can expect no such indulgence.

There is no fear that either Wilhelm or the Crown Prince will return without the Government's permission, and that will not be forthcoming.

CROWN PRINCE'S STATEMENT

The former Crown Prince, interned on Wieringen Island, in an interview with a newspaper correspondent in May, admitted his unpopularity and said in his own defense:

People say I incited to war, but Clemenceau has done so all his life. I was of opinion that Germany ought to be prepared for war, but I did not desire to cause war. I do not ask people to con-

sider me specially intelligent, but I am no idiot or a degenerate person, such as the English and American papers always say I am. I could not be so stupid as to wish for war at a time when Germany had the whole world against her. If Germany had wished to make war it would have been much better to have done so during the Boer War or the Russo-Japanese War. The mistake was that Germany never learned anything about foreign people. I knew Englishmen never would be content to send 300,000 men across the Channel.

The Prince admitted that Tirpitz and the chief army leaders had been well-educated liars, and added:

The Ludendorff communiqués were last year so mendacious that they were ridiculous. About Ludendorff I have written the following in my book:

"He has risen by reason of his reckless energy and brilliant organization, talents and qualities which are excellent for a short and quickly finished campaign, but insufficient for a long war. He understood how to get every man enrolled in the shortest possible time. He used the railways to the utmost limit, but his continued overexertion of the nation had at last led to a breakdown. I saw the catastrophe approaching. I was every day among my soldiers, while the gentlemen at headquarters were not."

The Prince then described his visit to the Kaiser on an early Summer morning in 1918, when during a long conversation he pointed out that it was impossible to continue fighting. Next forenoon, when Ludendorff made his usual report about the military situation, the Kaiser said: "My son, the Crown Prince, points out," but was interrupted by Ludendorff, who demanded that the Crown Prince must not in future meddle in the affairs of headquarters, and declared that if he did interfere further, Ludendorff would resign. The ex-Crown Prince was willing on his oath to declare that the famous Crown Council at Potsdam had never taken place. The first day a meeting was held was the day when mobilization was ordered.

He declared his father would die before submitting to a trial by the Allies, and predicted another big war inside of ten years, since the terms of the Peace

Treaty would satisfy only France, England, and America. For himself, he had no other desire, he stated, than to return to Germany and live as a private citizen on his estate in Silesia.

LICHNOWSKY ON THE ORIGIN OF THE WAR

Prince Lichnowsky, former German Ambassador at London, whose famous "memorandum" revealed Germany's responsibility for the war, said to an interviewer in Berlin after the war was over:

It was more stupidity than willful desire that really caused the war. Foreigners are inclined to credit us with more malice and less silliness than we possess. Our leaders brought on the war, but more through their inability to reason and to judge correctly, combined with incredible obstinacy, than through any lust for the overlordship of the world. There were fools and fanatics of that kind, too, but they were not the ones possessed of power. I repeat, the ones in control were simply stupid and incompetent. They were responsible for our ridiculous, provocative diplomacy, and, after the wind was started, the whirlwind had to follow.

The Emperor did not want a world war, but he was far less clever and intelligent than the outside world believed him. Even many of the officers, I am satisfied, did not want a world war. But they were obsessed by the theory of Pan Slavism. Russian determination to overrun the world, although it never existed in any responsible quarters, was a bogey to our higher officers. They had not the brains to discern the truth, nor to listen to those who did.

Von Moltke [Chief of the Prussian General Staff at the outbreak of the war] was the leader of those who insisted upon forcing a war; but that was only because he, having a hopelessly parrot mind, could not be convinced that Russia would not pounce upon us in the interests of Pan Slavism when she was militarily prepared. Russia, he insisted, was improving her military railroads steadily, so that she might move her troops more rapidly toward our frontiers. In a few years—five or ten at the most—she would be ready and upon us. Therefore it was our duty to strike first and paralyze her before she grew so strong. He had been preaching the same doctrine for years. Neither facts nor arguments had any weight with him. It is hopeless to reason with incompetents.

Sinking of German Fleet at Scapa Flow

Burning of the French Flags

THE signing of the Peace Treaty was preceded by two German acts of bad faith—the sinking of the interned German fleet at Scapa Flow and the burning of certain French flags in Berlin. Both acts were in direct violation of the terms of the armistice which Germany had accepted.

On Saturday, June 21, just before the German Government decided to sign the treaty unconditionally, the crews of the German naval vessels interned at Scapa Flow sank all the big battleships and battle cruisers, except the *Baden*, with numerous smaller craft, while others went ashore in a half-sunken condition. The hoisting of a red flag at noon was the signal to scuttle the ships which had been formally surrendered to the allied nations and subsequently interned. The seacocks were opened, and, as the great vessels slowly sank, the crews took to small boats and rowed toward the neighboring islands. Some of the fleeing men were fired upon, and there were a few casualties. But most of the surrendered fleet was soon submerged beneath the waves.

This stroke was a complete surprise. The British Admiralty at first denied the report of the sinking, but later confirmed it, and issued an official statement indicating that the German Rear Admiral and most of the German crews had been taken into custody.

The German Admiral responsible for the sinking was von Reuter. When taken into custody he informed the British commander that, believing the armistice terminated, he had ordered the scuttling of the ships in pursuance of orders given early in the war by the former Emperor that no German man-of-war was to be surrendered. The news aroused general rejoicing among the Germans. Admiral Reinhardt Scheer, who had commanded the German High Sea Fleet during the war, officially announced his gratification.

It was stated on June 26 that the

Allies, after an official investigation, would exact reparation for the loss. The following letter was sent by Premier Clemenceau to the German peace delegation regarding both the ship and flag episodes:

June 25, 1919.

Mr. President: The terms of the armistice signed by Germany on Nov. 11, 1918, provided as follows:

"Article 23. The German surface warships which shall be specified by the Allies and the United States shall forthwith be disarmed and thereafter interned in neutral ports, or, failing them, in the allied ports designated by the Allies and the United States. They shall there remain under supervision by the Allies and the United States, only care and maintenance parties being left on board."

On June 21 the German warships which had been handed over to the allied and associated powers and were at anchor in the roadstead at Scapa Flow, with the German care and maintenance parties on board, as provided in the armistice, were sunk by these parties under the orders of the German Admiral in command. According to the information which has been collected and transmitted by the British Admiralty, the German Admiral in command of these parties of the German naval forces has alleged that he acted in the belief that the armistice expired on June 21 at midday, and consequently, in his opinion, the destruction in question was no violation of its terms.

In law, Germany, by signing the terms of Article 23, set out above, entered into an undertaking that the ships handed over by her should remain in the ports indicated by the allied and associated powers, and that care and maintenance parties should be left on board with such instructions and under such orders as would insure that the armistice should be observed.

The sinking of these ships, instead of their preservation, as had been provided for, and in breach of the undertaking embodied in Article 31 of the armistice against all acts of destruction, constituted at once a violation of the armistice, the destruction of the pledge handed over and an act of gross bad faith toward the allied and associated powers.

The Admiral in command of the care and maintenance parties belonging to the German naval forces has, while recognizing that the act was a breach of the armistice, attempted to justify it by alleg-

ing his belief that the armistice has come to an end.

This alleged justification is not well founded, as, under the communication addressed to the German delegation by the allied and associated powers on June 16, 1919, the armistice would only terminate on refusal to sign the peace, or, if no answer were returned, on June 23 at 7 o'clock. According to international law, as embodied particularly in Articles 40 and 41 of the regulations annexed to the Fourth Hague Convention of 1907, every serious violation of the armistice by one of the parties gives the other party the right to denounce it and even in case of urgency to recommence hostilities at once.

A violation of the terms of the armistice by individuals, acting on their own initiative, only confers the right of demanding the punishment of these offenders, and, if necessary, indemnity for the losses sustained. It will therefore be open to the allied and associated powers to bring before a military tribunal the persons responsible for these acts of destruction, so that the appropriate penalties may be imposed. Furthermore, the incident gives the allied and associated powers a right to reparation for the loss caused, and in consequence a right to proceed to such further measures as the said powers may deem appropriate.

Lastly, the sinking of the German fleet is not only a violation of the armistice, but can only be regarded by the allied and associated powers as a deliberate breach in advance of the conditions communicated to Germany and now accepted by her. Furthermore, the incident is not an isolated act. The burning or permission for the burning of the French flags which Germany was to restore constitutes another deliberate breach in advance of these same conditions.

A telegram came from Berlin on June 23 saying that the French flags captured by the Germans in 1870 had been burned in front of the statue of Frederick the Great in Unter den Linden. German officers and soldiers of the Guard Cavalry Division had entered the War Museum and taken out the flags, already packed to be delivered to the French under the terms of the treaty. A crowd carried them down Unter den Linden singing "Die Wacht am Rhein" and "Deutschland über Alles." They soaked the flags in gasoline and burned them, while thousands marched up and down the streets rejoicing. Among the banners destroyed was one captured from Napoleon I. in 1814. Peace Conference opinion, when the news reached Paris,

was unanimous in condemning this act as a violation of Article 245 of the Peace Treaty, which stipulated that these flags should be returned to France.

Of the two acts of destruction, the burning of the flags hit France the harder, for the sentimental interest which she had attached to the return of these standards was extreme. An article in the *Revue Bleue* for May told eloquently what the restoration of the flags of 1870 would have meant for France.

Neither of these acts had been conceived or countenanced by the German Government. Neither President Ebert nor Premier Bauer expressed any satisfaction on hearing of the sinking of the German warships, their general attitude being that it simply meant more for Germany to pay in reparations; and the burning of the French flags was wholly a matter of irresponsible private initiative. German crowds rejoiced over both occurrences, but Bauer declared that the German Government intended to execute the terms of the peace treaty as loyally as possible; this attitude, evinced in acts such as the removal of General von Hoffmann in the east for anti-ally activity, predisposed the conference favorably toward the Ebert Government.

Soon after the sinking of the ships Sir Horatio Bottomley intimated in the House of Commons that President Wilson or his representatives had been responsible for the disaster by insisting on an internment rather than on an absolute surrender policy. The American attitude that the German warships should be sunk instead of distributed had not been modified. On July 7 the Commission of Admirals appointed to decide on the disposition of the remaining warships in German ports announced that no recommendation was possible until certain matters of policy had been decided by the powers. Japan and the United States favored the breaking up or sinking of the remaining warships. Great Britain approved breaking them up. Italy agreed to their destruction provisionally, but in case of distribution insisted on her due share, and France desired their distribution. Some of the smaller powers, notably Poland, favored destruction.

Austria and the Peace Terms

Outcry Against the Treaty—Financial Crisis—Communism Strives for Mastery

[PERIOD ENDED JULY 15, 1919]

THE terms of the Austrian Peace Treaty, which had been handed to Dr. Karl Renner at St. Germain, Paris, on June 2, caused consternation in Vienna. The text of the first section reached the Austrian capital late that evening and was the subject of a midnight Cabinet meeting which sat till well on into the morning. President Seitz spoke at great length, but Herr Bauer, the Foreign Minister, took little part in the discussion. The tendency of the Cabinet was to declare the treaty impossible of fulfillment; the decision, however, was taken that President Seitz, Dr. Bauer, and Vice President Fink should go to Feldkirch to meet Herr Renner and there discuss the attitude to be adopted. Before leaving, the President said: "The treaty is a terrible one, but it is more terrible for the Entente than for us."

To the outward eye Vienna took her "sentence of death" quietly. The life of the city flowed as evenly as usual, and even around the legations of the four minor powers—Poland, Bohemia, Rumania, and Yugoslavia—there was hardly an extra policeman on guard, though when the terms of the treaty became known these nations, especially Bohemia and Yugoslavia, became the object of public execration. Feeling was especially high against the Czechs, but the minor powers in general were blamed for the cancellation of all clauses favorable to Austria. The nations represented by the Council of Four were accused of plotting to strangle Austrian national life. All the Austrian newspapers vied one with another in wholesale denunciation. The Neuer Tag said:

We can be forced to sign this treaty, but it cannot be said to represent our consent. No one in German Austria would hesitate to tear up such a treaty. It is a crime against mankind and all high and noble ideas. Vae victoribus!

The Mittagszeitung said:

We are given the choice of becoming a colony of the Entente or else being submerged in the Czech ocean—unless, indeed, at the right moment, we find our way home to the great German Fatherland.

The Reichspost said:

The treaty has been sent to the wrong address. It should have gone to the other heirs of monarchy also. German Austria is not the lawful heir of the old monarchy.

The two conditions most violently criticised were territorial and economic. The probable loss of Klagenfurt in Carinthia, to which an interallied mission had been sent, was a severe blow; census figures quoted by the Arbeiter Zeitung showed that the town contained almost 25,000 Germans, as against a little over 500 Slovenes. The loss by confiscation of German Austrian property in the States which formerly were part of the old empire was estimated at a billion dollars. The provision that expropriated landowners should be reimbursed by the German Austrian Government was declared to add insult to injury. The only gleam of hope lay in the counterproposals of the Austrian peace delegation and the possible results attainable by verbal negotiations.

On June 7 an extraordinary sitting of the National Assembly was opened to consider the peace terms. The terms were again characterized by President Seitz as a death sentence. Dr. Otto Bauer, Foreign Secretary, declared that the loss of German Bohemia not only meant the subjection of 3,500,000 Germans to foreign domination, but the loss of parts of German Austria which were most eminent in industrial and cultural aspects. A State formed by violence, he said, must be a constant menace to peace. It was not only in the German but in the international interest that the Czechoslovak

State should be limited to the territory inhabited by the Czechoslovak people. Continuing, Herr Bauer said:

It was clear from the first that we could hold German Tyrol only if we succeeded in coming to a direct understanding with Italy on the South Tyrol question. Months ago we submitted to the Italian Government a draft treaty according to which German South Tyrol would remain with us constitutionally and economically, but would be militarily neutralized. Hitherto, for reasons which we understood it was not possible for the Italian Government to enter into direct negotiations with us, but we hope it will not refuse to discuss this proposal at the negotiations at St. Germain. In such a discussion we should be found ready to make any sacrifice in order to retain the German territories of Tyrol in political and economic association with us.

Dr. Bauer pointed out the danger of a German irredenta in South Tyrol, and intimated that it would be a misfortune if the annexation of this district hindered the cementing of Austrian and Italian friendship. As regarded the Carinthian and Styrian frontier question and West Hungary, Dr. Bauer stated that the Austrian peace delegation, whose head, Dr. Karl Renner, returned to St. Germain on June 6, would propose plebiscites under neutral control.

Telegrams from Vienna said that protests against the Peace Treaty had reached the German Bohemian Government from 125 towns and communes of German Bohemia. Big demonstrations had been held in Vienna to protest against the terms. A resolution was passed calling on the peace delegation to refuse to sign the treaty. The Entente Mission was surrounded by protesting throngs. On June 10 at a plenary sitting of the Tyrolean Government Herr Schraffl, the Governor, declared against the dismemberment of the Tyrolean people and said: "We solemnly vow to recoil before no sacrifice until the sun of peace and freedom shines again on the land of the Tyrol."

Popular indignation roused by the terms of the treaty and exacerbated by the advantage won by the Yugoslavs in the boundaries established by the armistice in Carinthia (ordered by the allied Governments on May 31) made the course pursued by the Austrian Govern-

ment a difficult one. The situation was complicated by the desperate aspect of economic and financial conditions, and by the incessant efforts of the Austrian and Hungarian Communists in Vienna to overthrow the Government. The Communist outbreak advertised for Sunday, June 15, actually occurred, but was suppressed, and the Government again weathered the Communist storm which so often before had threatened to sweep it away. Reports that the popular Austrian Volkswehr was to be reduced were utilized by the Communists to fan the flame of popular discontent, though on June 14 the Government had decided that the reduction should be deferred. Leaflets distributed through Vienna urged that the Government be immediately overthrown, and painted an alluring picture of Austria under Soviet rule, supported by her "Hungarian brethren." Evidence that the Vienna Communists were financed by Hungary was presented by the Arbeiter Zeitung.

But though the Communists were again quelled, the discontent of the people smoldered on. On June 21 the railway men, who had struck for higher wages in March, again demanded more money. President Seitz replied that if more relief allowances were paid there would be no money left in the treasury. He stated that the factories were being socialized, and that 2,000,000,000 crowns had been paid for relief to soldiers and workmen during the last eight months. He promised, however, an increased payment in the August allowances.

The money stringency came again to the fore on July 1. It was reported that the Government would withdraw about 50 per cent. of the number of crowns in circulation. The floating currency for Austria alone was estimated at 42,000,000,000 crowns, as compared with 2,000,000,000 crowns before the war. For every 200 crowns of paper, Austria had one crown of metal. Over 30,000,000 crowns were in Hungary when the Government there was taken over by the Communists. The Austrian public were reported to be much concerned at the possibilities of the reported withdrawal of currency.

The development of a diplomatic crisis that had arisen between Austria and the

Soviet Government of Bela Kun was indicated on July 8 when word came from Vienna that the Austrian Government had issued a strongly worded note to Bela Kun, demanding the recall of the Hungarian Minister Czobel, owing to the latter's participation in Bolshevik intrigues in Vienna. The Austrian Government further declared its unwillingness to reply to Bela Kun's preceding note to Austria, on the ground that it contained impertinent insinuations and charges against that Government. Developments of the crisis were anxiously awaited. On the date mentioned agents of the Hun-

garian Bolsheviks tried to sell many millions of dollars' worth of Austrian securities and bank shares at a large discount to Vienna banks; the offers were refused because the securities were marked "Stolen From Budapest Banks." It was reported that Hungarian forces were massing in the south for a military diversion against Austria.

The German Government on July 8 asked assent to the appointment of Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau as Ambassador to Vienna, and the Austrian Government on July 15 expressed its approval of this appointment.

The Turks and Bulgars at Paris

The delegation to the Peace Conference appointed by the Turkish Government was placed under the leadership of Damad Ferid Pasha; other members announced from Constantinople on June 7 were Tewfik Pasha, Tewfik Bey, Riza Tewfik Bey, and Rachid Hlim Bey. Damad Ferid Pasha is the Turkish Foreign Minister. Tewfik Pasha is a former Premier. Tewfik Bey is the Minister of Finance, and Riza Tewfik Bey is President of the Council of State.

This delegation reached Toulon, France, on June 11. It consisted of twelve persons, headed by Damad Ferid. On arrival the latter said that he came semi-officially to enlighten the Allies on the situation in his country. The Young Turk party, he said, had tried to prevent the departure of the delegation, which had come incognito. The Turkish envoys were brought to Vaucresson, near Paris.

The Turkish plea was heard by the Council of Premiers and Foreign Ministers at the Foreign Office on June 17. Both this plea and the allied reply were made public on June 26. In the statement presented by Damad Pasha all share of responsibility in the war that had ravaged Europe was disclaimed, and the whole blame was thrown upon the Young Turk party and the German Government. As for the Turkish massacres, they were, the statement said, committed by the Turkish revolutionaries, and not only Christians, but Moslems, were their victims. The trial of the high person-

ages responsible amounted to Turkish rehabilitation from these charges. Thus rehabilitated, the Turkish Government intended to devote itself to intensive economic and intellectual culture, and to become a useful factor of the League of Nations. The statement further pleaded for the integrity of its territories.

The allied powers, in their reply, rejected the Turkish plea for the maintenance of the Turkish Empire as it was before the war; they pointed to Turkey's own admission that Turkey had no quarrel with the Allies, and was the subservient tool of Germany. Its record, they declared, was an evil one; it had always destroyed and oppressed, and never shown progress in peace. As for Turkey's promises, they expressed themselves as quite unimpressed thereby. It was reported that Premier Clemenceau's reply produced a feeling of despair in Constantinople. Toward the end of June the Council of the great powers sent a note to the Turkish delegation advising it that nothing would be gained by its longer stay in Paris, as the questions which it had raised could not be decided quickly. Acting on this advice, the Turkish Mission started for home on July 4.

The delegation of the Bulgarian Government was scheduled to arrive in Paris on July 25. On July 15 the council was considering terms to be imposed on Bulgaria. The Peace Conference had received notice that the delegation would

be composed of the following: General Theodoroff, Foreign Minister, President of the delegation; Dr. Sakaroff, Minister of Commerce, Industry and Labor; M. Ganef, Minister of Justice; M. Spanboulisky, Minister of Public Works; M.

Saranoff, Minister of Finance. Six councilors were also to be included. The Paris Government had commandeered the Château de Madrid, a hotel at Neuilly, as a residence for the Bulgarians.

CURRENT HISTORY IN BRIEF

[PERIOD ENDED JULY 20, 1919]

LABOR DISTURBANCES THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

JUNE and July were marked by serious labor disturbances in various parts of the world. In Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Canada, Australia, and the United States the root cause was generally the same, high prices and profiteering, coupled with the effort of the workers to reduce their hours. Some 350,000 metal workers, railway men, and miners struck in France at the beginning of June, and Paris was tied up for several days. A general strike, planned by the General Confederation of Labor, which would have brought the industry of the country to a standstill, was ultimately abandoned.

In Italy labor disturbances began early in July, when food rioters were fired on by carabinieri on July 4; shops were sacked, occasioning a damage of more than \$100,000, and the red flag was hoisted in Tuscany and Romagna. The mob violence spread and became ominous; there was more shooting in Florence, and sixteen conspirators were seized in Rome four hours before the time set for the destruction of the city by bombs. A general strike was also declared in Naples. This movement, however, lost impetus with the voluntary cutting of prices on the part of the shopkeepers, the issuing of a decree by the Italian King inflicting a penalty of 10,000 lire or a prison fine for all food profiteers, and the action of the Government in holding up supply trains destined to support the Kolchak armies in Siberia, which action the workingmen had vigorously demanded. In anticipation of a general strike called by the Labor Confederation for July 20-21, 50,000 armed

citizens were organized in Florence on July 18.

In Australia the seamen's strike, continued through several months, had tied up Melbourne and other districts completely by the middle of July.

Labor disturbances in the United States, which threatened to be serious, notably the telegraphers' strike, were finally adjusted. Mr. Burleson, the Postmaster General, insisted that the telegraphers' strike had been declared in violation of the Labor Board regulations, and that he would not direct the telegraph companies to take back the men who had walked out. This charge the Telegraphers' Committee denied, but the strike was finally called off on July 2 on the ground that the union could not muster sufficient strength. At the same time the course of the Postmaster General in aiding the companies was assailed and the intention to continue later the struggle for the right of the union to organize and bargain was announced. In Chicago 1,300 firms declared a "lock-out" against 100,000 building trades workers on July 18.

A serious movement initiated by steamship workers, which threatened to spread along the Atlantic and Gulf coasts, was still continuing when this issue of CURRENT HISTORY went to press. An offer by the Federal Board to increase the pay of deck officers, engineers, and sailors, and the concession of an eight-hour day in the Port of New York, failed to satisfy the strikers. Three hundred ships were tied up and the freight piers congested. The ferry service was also partly paralyzed by a sympathetic strike on July 19.

In Boston a deadlock was established

between the striking carmen and the Boston Elevated Railway Company; the carmen had declared the strike after waiting three weeks for the Federal War Labor Board to arbitrate their differences. The strike was settled July 21 by arbitration, wages being increased 50 per cent. and an eight-hour day established. The organized steel workers of the United States Steel Corporation were voting late in July on the question of presenting demands with the alternative of striking.

In Great Britain the railway men's strike ended on July 21; a serious situation, however, had developed in the coal fields, which threatened all industry, and Parliament was debating the question of nationalizing the mines. Strikes were also occurring late in July in industrial and transport circles throughout Germany, but no violent measures were adopted. One significant phase of the strikes in Great Britain, France, and Italy was the vote that no work would be done in shipping supplies to aid the cause of the anti-Soviet factions in Russia.

* * *

THREE NATIONALITIES SEEK INDEPENDENCE

WITH the arrival of Eamonn de Valera in the United States to promote the cause of an "Irish republic," the people and Government of the United States have before them pleas for independence from three nationalities, for the Filipinos and the Koreans have been formally seeking recognition for several months and already have headquarters in Washington.

Though Mr. de Valera received a sympathetic resolution from Congress, at the White House and Department of State he was not officially received. The United States Government could not recognize either Mr. de Valera or Mr. Syngman Rhee, representative of the Korean independence movement, without giving affront to Great Britain and Japan.

The Philippine mission, seeking the independence of the Philippine Islands, has a different status from either the Irish or Korean independence move-

ment. The Filipinos were promised expressly by the United States that they would be made independent whenever a stable Government had been established, and they base their plea upon the assertion that this condition has been fulfilled.

Members of the Philippine and Korean missions watched with interest the progress of the campaign to win official and private support for the Irish movement. They saw the Irish movement obtaining a hearing in the press and among members of Congress that far surpassed anything they could command, but they did not agree that the Irish had any stronger case for independence.

That the friends of the Filipinos and Koreans, in and out of Congress, intended to see that they received equal treatment from the United States Government was indicated by the promise made to the Philippine mission that the bill already introduced in Congress to grant them independence would be pushed as soon as appropriations and the Peace Treaty were disposed of, and by the announcement that the League of Friends of Korea had been organized, with Admiral John C. Watson, U. S. N., retired, as Chairman.

* * *

NATIONALISTS WIN IN PHILIPPINES

REPORTS received from the Governor General of the Philippine Islands indicate that at the elections held on June 3 the Nacionalista, or Nationalist Party, won a complete victory. Citing the figures available, Mr. Jaime C. de Veyra, Resident Commissioner from the Philippines, on July 1 declared that they clearly established the fact that the Filipino people were in accord with the policies of the Nationalist Party, now in power, which was responsible for the sending of the Filipino mission to this country to ask for the independence of the islands.

* * *

GENERAL PERSHING FETED IN LONDON

GENERAL PERSHING arrived in London on July 15 to head the contingent of troops representing all units of the American Army which was to lead the Peace Celebration parade through London on Saturday, July 19. He was

given a warm reception at Victoria Station, which was decorated in his honor, and amid martial strains, together with various dignitaries, was driven through lines of cheering people to Carlton Hotel. A great dinner, attended by many famous people, was given in his honor the same evening by Ambassador Davis. On the following day the British Government gave a dinner for General Pershing and his staff; it was essentially a military affair. In replying to a toast, General Pershing reviewed the part played by American forces since their entry into the war, and praised the efforts and morale of the army under his command. On July 18, when Great Britain's Peace Celebration began informally, a gold-mounted sword was presented to General Pershing at the Guildhall. General Pershing delivered an address of thanks. Many other honors and ceremonies marked the day. On July 19 the Victory Parade occurred in London; 19,000 troops were in line, representing twelve nations, 3,500 Americans, headed by General Pershing, leading the procession. There were 4,000 marines and a thousand merchant sailors, also 600 women war workers in the line. A choir of 10,000 voices sang victory anthems in Hyde Park.

* * *

JULY 4 AT HOME AND ABROAD

THE celebration of the return of Independence Day was marked with a new spirit on July 4, 1919. A great peace pageant was held in Washington, and at night a huge chorus on the steps of the National Capitol sang patriotic songs. In France, especially Paris, the day was celebrated as though it were a French commemoration. All public offices and schools were closed, and a great demonstration was organized for America. Great throngs watched the parade of French and American troops. After the military review the American Ambassador, in the presence of a distinguished company, laid a wreath on the grave of Lafayette. At Ehrenbreitstein, on the Rhine, a great fireworks display was given by the American soldiers amid the booming of heavy guns. The pyrotechnics were watched by dense throngs

packed on the banks of the river. Elaborate ceremonies were also held in Belgium, particularly at Brussels, where Brand Whitlock, the American Ambassador, delivered an address.

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BRITAIN HONORS CAPTAIN FRYATT

THE body of Captain Charles Fryatt, executed in 1916 by the Germans for attempting to ram a submarine, was brought to Dover on July 7 on board a British destroyer escorted by vessels of the Dover patrol.

The casket, on a gun carriage, was drawn solemnly from the destroyer to the railway station, accompanied by a naval escort and representatives of the civil authorities. It was placed in the station under a military guard for the night. It was taken by train on July 8 to London, where national memorial services, attended by many notable persons were held at St. Paul's Cathedral.

* * *

GERMAN NAVAL LOSSES

A COMPLETE list of German naval losses during the war was received in Washington on July 8. According to this list, 490 war vessels were lost. Of these nearly 200 were U-boats, eighty-two of which were lost in the Atlantic or in the North Sea, three in the Baltic, seventy-two off the coast of Flanders, sixteen in the Mediterranean, and five in the Black Sea. Fourteen were blown up by their own crews and seven interned in neutral harbors. Other naval losses were variously divided. The loss in killed was 29,685, including both officers and men.

* * *

VON TIRPITZ BLAMES BETHMANN

ADVANCE sheets of Admiral von Tirpitz's book, summarized in Berlin on July 14, place almost the entire responsibility for the war on the shoulders of Bethmann Hollweg.

The former Chancellor, the Admiral charges, kept the Austro-Serbian crisis in his own hands, deliberately prevented diplomatic reconciliation, and forced the Austrian invasion of Serbia. To make the indictment complete, he also charges Bethmann Hollweg with responsibility for the hasty declaration of war against France and Russia.

MONUMENTS ON FRENCH FRONT

WHILE the task of reconstruction is proceeding along the 380 miles of the French front, a special commission appointed by the French Government has selected a number of famous sites which are to be preserved in their present state as monuments of the great war. These sites, numbering about 140, will be found all the way from La Bassée to Upper Alsace. Care was taken to select a large variety of points of interest, such as famous battlefields, deep dugouts, long underground galleries, ruins, pillboxes, observation points, &c. Several of the forts of Verdun will be kept in their present state. The extensive shelters carved in the rock on the wooded heights of the Vosges will be preserved, as well as famous intrenchments on both sides of the Meuse, in the Champagne, and in the Soissons and Noyon areas.

In what used to be the British sector the following sites will remain: The Butte de Warlencourt, the ruins of Bapaume, some of the destroyed monuments of Péronne, several castles and estates in a complete state of devastation, such as the Château of Thiepval, the underground maze of Combles, the "tanks' churchyard" at Pozières, the "King's observation point" on Hill 80, near Givenchy, the Givenchy battlefield, and the famous slagheap and "Tower Bridge" at Loos.

* * *

BASTILE DAY IN FRANCE

NEVER before in the history of France had there been such a celebration as that of July 14, 1919, the national holiday, in Paris. It was an outpouring of nation-wide joy. All the pent-up emotions of the long war and its triumphant ending were released. Fully six million people saw the impressive pageant that defiled beneath the gigantic arch which rises against the sky in the Place de l'Etoile. The great city was crowded to its utmost limit. Trains drawing in at all the stations poured new accretions into the ocean of humanity that swarmed in the streets. From all the provinces of France they came. Many who found places of vantage from which to behold the spectacle

stayed there all night. Hordes of people camped out upon the sidewalk on spread-out blankets, and ate and drank while waiting for the great event.

It was the 130th anniversary of the fall of the Bastille and the first public celebration of the winning of the great war. In that parade of forces that represented those who brought defeat to the Central Powers there were vivid color, constant surprise, and much to stimulate the imagination to see the romance of it all. Amid the familiar khaki and blues and greens stood out the picturesque costumes of those from far and exotic regions of the earth; bronzed sheiks of the desert were there; red-fezzed and solemn Mohammedans; turbaned, swarthy East Indians, and the ebon faces of Algerians and Senegalese; folk from all corners of the world to demonstrate by their presence the fact that this had been a universal war.

The weather was brilliant, more like October than midsummer. The parade, which, at a trumpet signal, started from Porte Maillot at 8:12 o'clock, ended at the Place de la République, where the troops dispersed after passing before Marshal Foch and Marshal Joffre, who reached the end of the march at 10:15 o'clock. As the parading troops passed in review before the two Marshals of France, the stern, keen-faced, impassive Foch, and the large-featured, melancholy-eyed Joffre, the fluttering flags and colors were dipped. Cannon fire, reverberating like thunder, gave the signal to all Paris when the parade reached the famous arch erected to commemorate the victory of Napoleon at Austerlitz. From the dense throng rose a roar of welcome, enormously extended and ever renewed. At one-minute intervals the great guns boomed while the President of the French Republic placed a wreath at the foot of the cenotaph, an empty casket symbolizing the memory of the allied dead. Other wreaths were also laid there, one in honor of the seventy-two members of the Lafayette Escadrille who lost their lives during the war.

Marshal Joffre, victor of the Marne, passed under the arch at 8:45. He rode alone. Behind him came Marshal Foch. A storm of applause followed them like

a wave as they rode beneath the great stone pile and down the brilliant avenue beyond. Then came General Pershing and his Generals, followed by American troops. Forty American organizations, composed of soldiers and marines, marching with quick and vigorous precision, were greeted with waving handkerchiefs and flags and deafening cheers, while the flags held by 10,000 French school children opened and waved like a single flower. The marching Belgians also were received with enthusiasm; and a warm reception was given to the British, Italians, Japanese, Portuguese, Serbs, Czechs, Rumanians, and Poles. A storm of applause fell upon the French poilus who closed the procession.

It was first and last a French spectacle. It was liberated France that celebrated, as the marching nations passed by, a vastly staged and memorable tribute to all the crusaders who had brought victory to the allied cause.

* * *

ABYSSINIANS AT THE WHITE HOUSE

PRESIDENT WILSON, on July 14, received the Abyssinian Mission sent to this country to congratulate the American Government on the victory of the associated nations. Members of the mission appeared in gorgeous costumes of red velvet, decorated with gold, and wore jeweled turbans. They presented a number of gifts to the President, including tusks of ivory, gold boxes, and letters from the Abyssinian Queen and Heir Apparent. President Wilson, in his reply, reviewed the great antiquity of the Abyssinian Nation, and expressed a wish for closer relations of friendship between the two countries.

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HONORING THE CZECHOSLOVAKS

ONE of the most impressive of the many war ceremonies that have taken place at the White House during visits by foreign veterans occurred on the afternoon of July 18, when more than a thousand seasoned veterans of the Czechoslovak Army, transported from Siberia on their way homeward to their newly created country, marched under the front portico of the White House in review before President Wilson. Led by

the Marine Band, with the crimson and white national colors flying, and every man bearing the hardships of the last five years imprinted upon his face, they swung around from the west to the east gate and passed in picturesque formation in front of the main porte-cochère, where the President addressed them. After the address those who had won special distinction for bravery in battle in Europe and Asia, especially in the epical advance of the Czechoslovaks eastward along the Trans-Siberian Railroad, were invited to the White House portico, where the President passed up and down, greeting each veteran with a smile as he pressed his hand.

In his address of welcome President Wilson expressed America's admiration for the Czechoslovaks' heroic deeds and for their dauntlessness in adversity. "There is," he said, "nowhere recorded a more brilliant record than the withdrawal of your forces in opposition to the armies of Germany and Austria through a population at first hostile, or the march of your armies for thousands of miles across the great stretches of Siberia, all the while keeping in mind the necessity for order and organization." The achievements of the Czechoslovaks, he declared, would go down into history. The President's address ended with a wish that on their return to their new republic they might take with them the stamina and love of order and discipline which they had so conspicuously displayed in their great retreat across Siberia.

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LUSITANIA LOSSES DISMISSED

JUDGE JULIUS M. MAYER, sitting in the Admiralty Branch of the United States District Court, on July 15 granted a decree absolving the Cunard Company for the sinking of the Lusitania, torpedoed by a German submarine on May 7, 1915. With this decree sixty-four damage claims, aggregating between \$5,000,000 and \$6,000,000, were dismissed. The decree declared that the sinking of the Lusitania and the consequent loss of life and property were caused solely by the illegal act of the German Government, for which the Cunard Company could in no way be held responsible.

WHEAT REMAINS UNDER CONTROL.

BY proclamation issued on July 16 President Wilson put entire control of the wheat situation in the hands of Julius H. Barnes, Wheat Director, making it possible for him by a license system to regulate the export and import of wheat and wheat flour, the domestic and foreign distribution, the milling processes, and the baking of bread and other products. This power gave Mr. Barnes authority to decide on the import of wheat selling in Australia and South American countries below the price guaranteed by the United States from its \$1,000,000,000 fund, and also on the question of price reduction here.

* * *

SERAJEVO MURDERERS DISINTERRED

A HISTORIC event occurred on June 10 at Serajevo, Bosnia, where the spark was struck which set the world aflame in 1914. At Theresienstadt on that date the bodies of the Serajevo murderers, Prinzip, Gabrinovitch and Grabez, were disinterred with great solemnity in the presence of numerous residents and of South Slavs and Russian and Serbian officers, for the purpose of being removed to Serbia, their fatherland.

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SAMOA AND NEW ZEALAND

SIR JAMES ALLEN, the acting Prime Minister of New Zealand, stated toward the end of June that a petition drawn up by the inhabitants of Samoa, asking that the administration be handed over to the United States, had been withdrawn. He admitted that Samoa had not been too well satisfied with the military administration conducted by New Zealand. If the latter country were definitely intrusted with the government of the island, he said, a civil administration would be provided in place of the military. Notwithstanding shortage of labor, the plantations had been kept up fairly well.

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TRIPOLITANIA GIVEN RIGHTS

ON June 2 King Victor Emmanuel signed a decree giving to the natives of Tripolitania a large share in the administration of the colony and wider

rights of citizenship. This decree was the result of discussion between the Italian authorities and Arab and Berber leaders who had controlled the coast and mountain tribes during the last four years since the Italians withdrew to Tripoli and Khoms. The majority of these chiefs "came in" on July 1.

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ITALIAN EARTHQUAKE KILLS MANY

AT Vecchio, a village of 1,200 inhabitants, fifteen miles northeast of Florence, Italy, earthquake shocks late in June caused the deaths of 127 persons and injuries to several thousands. The shocks were perceptible as far away as Venice. Great damage was done in the affected region. A million and a half of people of the provinces of Florence, Arezzo, and Siena, where the shocks were especially severe, spent the night in the open air. Ghastly stories were reported of the effects of this earthquake, which was the most severe that Tuscany had suffered for the last fifteen years. From the destroyed villages of the beautiful valley of the Mugello, inclosed between lofty mountains on the western slope of the Central Apennines, came descriptions of fields and streets overflowing with wounded, lying on straw, grass and rags, and begging for water. Airplanes were sent out in all directions along the Apennines, where many other towns and villages suffered great damage. Relief measures were organized and rushed from Florence and Rome. King Victor Emmanuel himself went to the afflicted districts, and the Duchess d'Aosta and women and girls of all classes made every effort to care for the victims of the earthquake. Additional deaths were reported on July 2, and the latest compilation of damages totaled 200 homes destroyed, six churches and several public buildings and schools.

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SERBIAN KING RETURNS

THE aged King Peter returned to Serbia from his self-imposed exile in Greece, on July 18, in a special train supplied by the Greek Government. He was met at the station by Prince Alexander. The King declined to have any cere-

mony in connection with his arrival, but the population gave him an enthusiastic welcome. His train was also cheered by the people at all the stations through which it passed. He returned to a Serbia quite different from that which he had left, to a Serbia free of the domination of the Germans and greatly increased in territory by the Yugoslav union.

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ALSACE-LORRAINE UNDER FRENCH

ALSACE AND LORRAINE, restored to France after forty-nine years, present a problem which the French have not yet had time to resolve. Stephen Lausanne, French journalist, after a visit to the recovered provinces, warned that the French Government must use judgment and discrimination in administering affairs in the new domain. Lausanne was told that a mistake had been made in ousting too many humble workers in the public service—postmen, for instance—while leaving Germans in high stations unmolested. Since 1914 these high functionaries, of pure German origin, have been a hostile and dangerous element of the population, and the Alsace press has reverted to the question repeatedly. The *Dernières Nouvelles de Strasbourg*, especially, has been active in pointing out their pernicious activities to discredit the French administration, headed by Alexandre Millerand, appointed Governor of the provinces by President Poincaré on March 21.

The Alsace-Lorrainers, a people of traditions and sentiment, found a good omen in the early Spring when storks, who had ceased their annual visits to Strasbourg in the Spring of 1914, returned to their old nests in the Place de Broglie, situated in the centre of the town. The native population have always held that the storks brought good luck. The building to which the storks returned is next door to the house in which on April 25, 1792, Rouget de Lisle first sang the "Marseillaise." This house belonged to the Mayor of Strasbourg, M. Dietrich. To commemorate this event a grand banquet was given on the day following the return of the storks, at which the High Commissioner delivered an eloquent address. A bronze plaque was placed on Mayor Dietrich's

house, and a monument to de Lisle is in process of construction.

Since the signing of the armistice the atmosphere of the regained provinces has changed. The old men with their long square beards, who were youths of 21 when the Treaty of Frankfort was signed, are now coming back into their own. They are already forgetting to speak German. French street signs have sprung up like magic. The German architecture still clashes. But the German symbols are being swiftly obliterated. The fleur-de-lys of France has been superimposed over the German imperial arms graven in marble on the fronts of the public buildings. The lifesize statues of the last three German monarchs on the front of the Parliament Building now stand headless above the busy town.

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MAORIS RETURN FROM WAR

DETAILS of the return of the Maori warriors, who fought in Gallipoli and France, have become available. When the Maori Pioneer Battalion disembarked at Auckland, amid a salute of cannon, they received a magnificent welcome from the Government and white citizens of New Zealand, but the native ceremony was the greatest event in Maori history since the royal visit to Rotorua in 1901.

The Maoris have always been a warrior race, and as the battalion returning from the great war represented every native tribe in New Zealand, men from every tribe had gathered in Auckland to give them a traditional Maori pohiri or dance of welcome. With chiefs and chieftainesses at their head, and grouped in picturesque native fashion, the Arawa and Matatua, the Ngapuhi, Maniapoto, Waikato, and Ngatiwhatua tribes awaited the Pioneer Battalion.

As the Maori veterans passed through the streets of Auckland the city's enthusiasm expressed itself in ringing cheers. At the entrance to the Domain a small group of white-haired men stood at the salute. They were the King's Empire Veterans and they wore the Maori war medal. Very proudly the Maori Battalion passed by the veterans who had fought their fathers and were now honoring them as kinsmen.

Secretary Lansing on the Peace Treaty

SECRETARY LANSING, before sailing from France on July 12, gave the press correspondents a luminous estimate of the results of the Peace Conference. He said that he was leaving for home "pleased but not overcomplacent with the outcome of the past six months," and pointed out the perils as well as the benefits in the new peace. He said in part:

Many thoughts rush to mind on leaving the Peace Conference after six months of effort. Never before has such an international gathering been held, for here has been the meeting ground of twenty-seven nations to liquidate a world war and establish a new order and a laboratory where already a system of world co-operation has been born out of necessity.

Out of it all has come the most important international document ever drawn—the treaty of peace with Germany—a document which not only meets the issues of the present war, but also lays down new agreements of the most helpful, most hopeful, character. The nations are bound together to avert another world catastrophe; backward peoples are given a new hope for their future; several racial entities are liberated to form new States; a beginning is made toward removing unjust economic restrictions, and the great military autocracies of Central Europe are destroyed as the first step in a general disarmament.

The treaty is, of course, not all that we had hoped for. It could hardly be expected to be. Too many conflicting interests were involved, as well as too many legitimate documents which would tax the most perfectly balanced mind. Nearly every one will find in it weaknesses both of omission and commission, provisions inserted which might better have been left out, and provisions left out which might better have been inserted.

Such a document must, however, be examined both against the background of its creation and in the large sweep of its spirit. From that point of view we may call it a stepping-stone from the old international methods to the new. If it still holds some of the distrusts and hatreds of the war, which Germany has full well earned for herself; if its construction has been hindered by memories of secret pacts and promises, it must be borne in mind that it carries with it the evident purpose to throw off the old methods of international intrigue and plotting.

But the present treaties are but the starting point of world reconstruction. Now that the general principles have been laid down it remains to execute them; and

by that I mean, not so much retributive action against nations which have recently run amuck in the world, but rather the cleansing and healing processes that shall really make good our hopes and aspirations.

Undoubtedly there is a great danger in the world today. Many people have thought that the mere signing of the treaty with Germany marks the ending of the world peril. Public opinion seems to have breathed a sigh of relief and lapsed back into apathy. Concentration of thought on world problems is weakening now, when it is most essential, and the forces of disintegration and reaction have been given a freedom of action far greater than when the world was on its guard.

The situation today is serious. Western civilization is still dazed by the shock of four and a half years of destruction. Industry and commerce are not yet restored. All of Europe is impoverished; parts of it are starving. Its whole political fibre has been shot through. Russia and Hungary are gripped by subversive political doctrines. Austria-Hungary and Turkey as empires have ceased to be. Poland and Czechoslovakia are struggling to their feet as members of the family of nations. All that complicated machinery of society which took decades to elaborate and a world war to tear down, cannot be replaced over night by a wholly different machinery.

Many problems remain unsettled. Territorial adjustments to secure the rights of people to live under their own flag as far as possible in the tangled skein of European nationalities may be effective. Attainment of the Polish frontiers on all sides, particularly in East Prussia, is very difficult. The Teschen coal fields are still a source of contention between Poland and Czechoslovakia. Hungary is interrupting the trade of all Central Europe. The Adriatic problem is still unsolved, as well as the fate of those large territories formerly under the Turk, including especially Asia Minor and Armenia.

World statesmanship will be sorely tried in the next few years. Two things are essential: First, an alert, intelligent, interested public opinion, and, second, co-operation of the nations. . . . The Peace Conference has been history's greatest instance of a unified world statesmanship directing the moral and material resources of the world's family of nations. To allow the spirit behind it to disintegrate at this moment of emergency, when united action is imperative, would be fatal to all the hopes of permanent peace with which we entered the war.

Wartime Prohibition

How the Federal Law Against the Sale of Alcoholic Drinks Went Into Effect

ONE of the most sweeping reform measures ever enacted in the United States became effective on July 1, 1919, when, technically, the whole nation was put upon a prohibition basis under the war measure enacted in the preceding November. The constitutional amendment forbidding the use of alcoholic drinks, which had been adopted in the meantime, was not to become effective until Jan. 16, 1920, and there had been some uncertainty in the public mind as to what would be done in the intervening six months. The new law, therefore, was ushered in with some confusion on the part of liquor dealers and consumers, and even of the judiciary authorities.

Those interested in the sale of alcoholic drinks hoped that President Wilson, by a special order, would lift the ban so far as it applied to light wines and beer. On June 28, however, the President sent this special message from Paris:

I am convinced that the Attorney General is right in advising me that I have no legal power at this time in the matter of the ban on liquor. Under the act of November, 1918, my power to take action is restricted. The act provides that after June 30, 1919, "until the conclusion of the present war and thereafter until the termination of demobilization, the date of which shall be determined and proclaimed by the President, it shall be unlawful, &c." This law does not specify that the ban shall be lifted with the signing of peace, but with the termination of the demobilization of the troops, and I cannot say that this has been accomplished. My information from the War Department is that there are still a million men in the army under the emergency call. It is clear, therefore, that the failure of Congress to act upon the suggestion contained in my message of the 20th of May, 1919, asking for a repeal of the act of Nov. 21, 1918, so far as it applies to wines and beers, makes it impossible to act in this matter at this time. When demobilization is terminated, my power to act without Congressional action will be exercised.

WOODROW WILSON.

The liquor interests throughout the country accordingly prepared to go out of business on June 30. On that date, the last day before wartime prohibition came into effect, there was a general rush of a certain part of the population to purchase supplies of various forms of alcohol for private consumption in the home. (The legality of private possession of liquor had been established by the House Judiciary Committee on June 24.) In New York City huge crowds celebrated the going out of the old régime; theatre parties jammed every hotel and café the length of Broadway, and men and women in evening clothes clinked glasses together with friend and stranger. Singing was heard, and parties, arm in arm, wandered from place to place, availing themselves to the last moment of the opportunity to indulge in alcoholic beverages. The crowds were in a jubilant, though not in a disorderly, mood. The merrymaking lasted far into the night, though the sale of liquor was prevented in bars and saloons after 1 o'clock in the morning.

From July 1 a curious state of affairs began. Though the act of Congress of Nov. 21, 1918, had set the date for the law to become effective, no machinery had been devised for its enforcement. This fact reacted on the owners of hotels, restaurants, and bars in different ways. Many of them evinced their intention to observe strictly the letter of the law. Others openly continued the sale of light wines and beers, and even whisky in some places was obtainable. A great many, after consulting with legal advisers, began the sale of wartime beer and wine, containing only 2% per cent. of alcohol.

Attorney General Palmer issued an official statement on June 30, in which he left no doubt of his intention to utilize the complete machinery of his department to enforce the measure, in so far as it affected the sale of all liquor contain-

ing more than 2.75 per cent. alcohol. Regarding the latter, he announced his intention to obtain an early decision on the intoxicating effects of such a beverage, but warned all those who continued its sale, pending this decision, that an adverse decision would render them liable to prosecution. Meantime the various agencies of the Government set about collecting evidence of the sale of this wartime brew, and samples of the beverage sold were sent for analysis. A comparatively negligible number of arrests for transgression of the law were made in New York.

Test cases were instituted in various parts of the country. In Baltimore on July 1 Judge John C. Rose in the United States District Court sustained a demurrer of the Standard Brewery Company to the Federal indictment charging the brewery with violation of the Food Conservation act through making beer containing more than one-half of 1 per cent. of alcohol. The Department of Justice announced its decision to take an appeal from this decision to the Supreme Court of the United States. Meanwhile Attorney General Palmer stated that he would institute other test cases in all districts where such had not been already begun.

On July 2 Miss Rose Schneiderman, President of the Woman's Trade Union League, stated that 50,000 women in New York City and 450,000 in other parts of the country "are opposed to prohibition and will stand squarely back of labor in this, and are willing to campaign at the polls next Fall to sustain their position." A split in labor opinion became apparent on June 11 at the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor in Atlantic City, when the convention went on record as protesting against prohibition unless it exempted 2.75 per cent. beer. A prohibitionist element, led by James Duncan of Seattle, fought

against this resolution, which had the backing of President Gompers.

In Pennsylvania the Legislature passed a law legalizing the sale of this small percentage beer. In New York the State Department of Excise announced that it was powerless to enforce complete prohibition in that State. Chicago acted in accordance with the ruling of the State Attorney General that the sale of beers and light wines of the 2.75 per cent. basis would be allowed; but soon this decision was reversed. In New England the sale of all beers and wines was discontinued. The wartime beer was continued in St. Louis, but barred in Maine. An important test case was begun in Pittsburgh on July 9, when the United States District Attorney filed a suit against the Pittsburgh Brewing Company in the United States District Court charging violation of the wartime prohibition law in the sale of seventeen barrels of beer containing more than one-half of 1 per cent. of alcohol; warrants were issued for the arrest of eleven officials of the company.

On July 7 five members of the House Judiciary Committee brought in a minority report, declaring that Congress should repeal the wartime prohibition act or lift the ban on light beers and wines. Debate in the House was bitter. On July 11 the dispute raged for five consecutive hours, the opposition being led by Representative Gard of Ohio, who was directing the fight for repeal of wartime prohibition and for a more liberal definition of what constituted an intoxicant. On July 15 a large majority was polled by the Prohibitionists after a heated discussion. In the course of a speech made by Representative Gallivan of Massachusetts a sensation was created by the charge that some of those who favored bone-dry legislation had laid in a stock of liquor sufficient to last for twenty years.

AMONG THE NATIONS

Survey of Important Events and Developments in Both Hemispheres

[PERIOD ENDED JULY 15, 1919]

AFGHANISTAN AND INDIA

REPORTS from the India Office during the month revealed that the prestige of the Emir Amanullah had suffered a severe blow, not only in Afghanistan, but also among the Afghans in India. The reason for this was said to be not so much the successful infantry operations of General Barrett on the northwest frontier as the awe inspired by the bombing from the air of the Emir's military establishments at Kabul and Jelalabad and the use of British armored cars on Khajuri Plain, which caused a large detachment of Afghans to throw down their arms.

With the rally of the Indian Princes to the defense of British India, already noted in these columns, similar protestations of loyalty were made by Afghan residents of India, with the prophecy that the days of Amanullah as Emir were numbered. A telegraphic message of Aga Khan addressed to his followers throughout India is typical of many:

Without a shadow of excuse and at a time of profound peace, forgetting the wise statesmanship of great Abdurrahman and the loyal and honorable example of King Habibullah, and breaking sacred treaties, some misguided people have attacked wantonly and foolishly British India. Of course, the great King-Emperor who overthrew German militarism, can break these people, but for us our sacred duty is to help his Majesty the King-Emperor, because his cause is just and because treaties are sacred and because it is only by every one of us, whether great or small, loyally doing his duty that the cause of peace and prosperity and religious and civil freedom's triumph in mid-Asia can be assured. I wish and pray that all my dear children should, like myself, not only remain staunchly loyal, but do their utmost to open the eyes of others to their and mankind's interests.

According to information received at

the India Office as late as June 28, the policy of Amanullah was directed by his Foreign Minister, Muhammad Tarzi. He is said to have been the instigator of the attack on India, and later the director of the prolonged negotiations which, while they have established an armed truce between the Emir and the Viceroy, have by no means ended hostilities.

Muhammad Tarzi was editor of the *Seraj-ul Akhbar* at Kabul during the great war, and revealed strong pro-Turkish leanings. During the reign of Abdurrahman he was an exile in Syria. On his return to Kabul, brought about by the Emir's death, he became editor of the only Afghan newspaper, and his daughter married the son of Habibullah, who is now Emir. On one occasion Habibullah, for the anti-allied utterances of his paper, threatened to have him blown from the guns. The *Pioneer of Calcutta* said: "Muhammad Tarzi is now amazed and terrified at the consequences of his own foolish actions." The India Secret Service also discovered seditious letters of Tarzi directed to Abdur Rahman Agha, the Afghan envoy to the Government of India.

Another but less powerful adviser of Amanullah is Abdul Khuddas, an ultra-conservative Afghan, who is said to hate foreigners and all innovations.

Information received by the India Office up to July 3 in regard to Nasrullah Khan, one of the alleged conspirators against the life of his brother, the late Emir, was that he was lodged, but not imprisoned, in the citadel of Kabul, and that his nephew, the Emir Amanullah, visited him occasionally.

The most important event in regard to the debate over the Government of India bill in the British Parliament was the action of the House of Lords, on July 1, in adopting the resolution communicated by

the Commons: "That it is expedient that the bill be committed to a joint committee of the Lords and Commons."

AUSTRALASIA

On July 13 virtually all shipping in the harbors of Melbourne and Sydney was tied up in consequence of the seamen's strike which began several months ago in Queensland and was subsequently extended to Victoria and New South Wales. As the central Government of Australia is more or less socialistic, no attempt was made to break the strike, and the request of the Queensland Government for permission to charter cargo vessels to relieve the situation was rejected by Acting Prime Minister Watt.

In Parliamentary circles of the Commonwealth a large number of bills were prepared which deal principally with Government control and a contingent interest of the workman in his work. These were held up until the legislators could hear from Prime Minister Hughes on the country's international and domestic aspects and from Lord Jellicoe on its relations to the British Empire.

Both in Australia and New Zealand there were schemes on foot to furnish demobilized soldiers with land. In New South Wales the Lands Department began as early as 1916 to make provision for this, and on June 23 the Minister for Lands estimated that by the end of 1919 there would be 5,000 settled, with already 1,550 on intensive farming blocks, 850 on Crown lands, 600 on closer settlement areas, and 500 on irrigation areas.

THE BALKANS

From his Court in a little town in France King Nicholas continued his propaganda for the restoration of his Montenegrin throne, from which he was turned out when the Montenegrin National Assembly voted adhesion to the monarchy of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes on Nov. 13, 1918. From the beginning of July his propaganda, even that addressed to the Peace Conference, dropped its plea for justice and sent out a great deal of material declaring that a reign of terror was prevailing in Montenegro, brought about by the military

occupation of the country by Serbia. A Paris dispatch dated July 8 announced that "the Montenegrin Government" had addressed a note to the conference declaring that certain villages had been attacked "by a force of 5,000 Serbs, which was equipped with cannon, and houses were demolished and children killed." A press dispatch dated July 1, from Berne, Switzerland, where King Nicholas maintains an agency, told of "bloody encounters," and stated: "Virtually all of Montenegro is in rebellion against the Serbian military occupation."

Meanwhile, *The Will of the People*, the organ of the Government established by the National Assembly and recognized by the conference as an integral part of the larger monarchy, continued its publication of diplomatic documents tending to show the treason of King Nicholas. It also published extracts from the Italian press of 1915, when Italy denounced the King, and of today, when she supports his cause. One of the former is taken from the *Idea Nazionale* of Jan. 19, 1915, and reads:

The news of the armistice between Montenegro and our enemies has surprised no one. Many signs showed the way to the events of today. For some time we have been in possession of documents which explain the change of Montenegro in such a way that we had nothing else to hope for.

The diplomatic documents purporting to reveal the treason of Nicholas are without signature but are alleged to have been written by foreign attachés at his court to their own governments. One dated June 10, 1915, declares that the treaty with Austria had been put into effect, for "since a week the front has been quiet. Airplanes no longer fly overhead, and the King has ordered that they shall not be fired on." This same dispatch notes that Montenegro for her surrender was to have a free hand in Albania.

Both the Italian and French Governments were silent up to July 16 in regard to the conflict at Fiume between their nationals on July 6 in which several lives were lost. On July 8 the Council of Five at Paris appointed an Interallied Commission, the American member of which was Major Gen. Charles

P. Summerall, to investigate the trouble, not only at Fiume, but at other Adriatic ports occupied by the Allies.

Fiume, until its status shall be definitely fixed by the Peace Conference, is nominally under the allied control as arranged by the Diaz armistice of Nov. 4, but the fact that the people of Fiume, on Oct. 30, had declared for adhesion to Italy and established a civil government, and that on Nov. 16 a strong Italian force had taken possession of the city in order to save the people from the Croats somewhat complicated matters, particularly when the French took over one of the harbors as a port of debarkation for food supplies.

The information at hand from both Italian and French sources divides the episode into two parts, cause and effect. Italian accounts deal principally with the cause—the tearing up of an Italian flag and other insults alleged to have been inflicted by French soldiers on Italian soldiers and Italo-Fiumeians. The French accounts, including that of an American correspondent, deal with an unprovoked attack by a mob and Italian soldiers and sailors, more or less under orders, upon the French compound and the slaying there of half a dozen French Asiatics and the wounding of twenty.

The day after the riot General Savy, the commander of the French troops at Fiume, described the affair in the *Giornale d'Italia* as “most deplorable,” and added that it would be a “mistake to generalize and make the fault of a few that of the whole French contingent.” The same day the National Council of Fiume passed a resolution asking the withdrawal of the French troops, as their presence endangered friendly Franco-Italian relations.

BULGARIA.—Sofia papers of July 3 announced that the Bulgarian delegation to the Peace Conference would arrive at Enghien-les-Bains Springs, four miles north of Paris, on July 25. A dispatch from Paris on July 16 stated that the delegation would be composed of thirty-five persons, headed by General Theodoroff, Foreign Minister, and including Dr. Sakaroff, Minister of Commerce, Industry and Labor; M. Ganeff, Minister of Justice; M. Spanboulisky, Minister of

Public Works; M. Saranoff, Minister of Finance. Among the six councillors are Professor Stephen Panaretoff, Minister at Washington, and General Loukoss, Chief of the General Staff.

Just what may be the status of Bulgaria before the conference is not known, for the full terms of the military surrender made to General Franchet d'Esperey last September have never been published, and, in spite of the fact that the Bulgarian Army surrendered its arms and the railways were placed under the control of the Allies, neither the Government at Sofia nor its propagandists have referred to the affair in any other way than as a “capitulation.” Bulgaria's claims to Dobrudja, now occupied by Rumania, and to Macedonia, now occupied by Greece and Serbia, have been presented to the conference and to the world in various forms and on various grounds. And the confidence with which these claims have been presented gained new inspiration on June 29, when the Turkish delegation was dismissed by the Paris conference, and caused claims to be made to the Vilayet of Adrianople, which the Bulgars captured in the first Balkan war but were obliged to return to Turkey in July, 1913.

GREECE.—While the press of Athens was particularly concerned with the Hellenization of Smyrna under the Greek High Commissioner, A. Sterghiades, and the accepted fact that Greece would receive the Dodecanesian Islands, the press at Saloniki concerned itself with matters nearer home. Here the Greek papers gave circumstantial evidence to prove that considerable numbers of Bulgarian troops were being concentrated on the frontier of Macedonia, and that propaganda for the return of King Constantine was being actively spread throughout Greek Macedonia. This propaganda is laid at the door of the Bulgars and Essad Pasha, who is carrying on guerrilla warfare against the Italian army of occupation in Albania.

The Greek General Paraskevopoulos, in command at Saloniki, waited until the American Independence Day before he issued the proclamation of Premier Venizelos announcing the signing of the

treaty of peace by the Germans at Versailles on June 28. The text of this proclamation will be found on Page 202.

RUMANIA.—On June 22 the Rumanian Chargé d'Affaires at Washington, N. H. Lahovary, gave out the principal part of the royal decree emancipating the Jews of Rumania. Changing the decree into a statute is merely a matter of form, as it is indorsed by the President of the Council, John Bratiano, representing the majority. The document, which is dated May 28, 1919, reads, in part:

Under the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, Ferdinand I., by the grace of God and the national desire King of Rumania, regarding the report of the President of the Council of Ministers and the Ministerial Secretary of State, at the Department of Justice, under No. 815, in the year 1919, we decree:

ARTICLE 1. All the Jewish inhabitants of our old kingdom who are adults and who have been born in the country or who happened to be born in foreign countries of parents residing in this country, who have not been subjects of any foreign State, are hereby declared to be Rumanian citizens, and they should from today on enjoy all the rights accorded to citizens, if they manifest such desire by declaring that they were born in Rumania and that they have not enjoyed any foreign protection.

Those who have satisfied the military law or who have been mobilized for any of the wars since 1913, until the present day, even if they were minors at the time, also the widows and legitimate children of the deceased in these campaigns since 1913, until today, need not make any affirmations that they have been born in the country, and that they have not enjoyed any foreign protection. It is sufficient that they desire to obtain the rights of citizenship, and they should express such desire.

ARTICLE 2. The widows and legitimate children, minors, of those who have made such declaration shall be considered as fully enfranchised; also the widows, the minors, and legitimate children of those naturalized individually before the publication of this decree, and whose children who are or were minors at the time of naturalization shall enjoy all benefits of this decree.

ARTICLE 3. No question as to religion of the applicant shall be required.

[After designating the questions to be asked and answered by the applicant, such as name, family connections, &c., the decree announces there is to be no special

tax required for citizenship. The decree continues:

ARTICLE 4. All those Jews who have had their applications denied under the decree of December, 1918, have the right to make a new application in conformity with this decree. The decree of December, 1918, is hereby abrogated.

BELGIUM

On June 24 the Council of Four at Paris signed a document giving its formal approval of the granting of priority to Belgium in the reparations to be paid by the Germans to the amount of \$500,000,000. The Council also ratified the plan to wipe out Belgium's war debt by substituting German bonds for Belgian obligation, the four great powers taking over the German bonds subject to approval by their legislators. The bonds to be taken over are the special issue which the peace terms require the Germans to make in order to reimburse Belgium for all sums Belgium has been obliged to borrow as a result of the violation of the treaty of 1839.

On June 25 the Government introduced into the Chamber a bill placing the management of the railways in the hands of a self-governing body to be known as the National Belgian Railways Administration. Its responsibility will be to Parliament and not to the Minister of Railways, and its personnel will have the status of civil servants.

On July 13 the Belgian press stated that the Interallied Committee on Permanent War Memorials had selected a site for a neutral city on one of the sectors of the late Belgian battlefront; that the city would be called Geopolis—World City—and eventually become the permanent abode of the League of Nations.

According to a report of the Central Industrial Committee of Belgium made on June 20 the sum of \$1,705,700,000 represented the losses suffered by Belgian industry, both during the war and from inactivity, to the date on which the report was issued. Textiles suffered to the extent of \$500,000,000; machinery and rolling stock, \$325,000,000; iron and steel works, \$221,500,000; mines, \$131,000,000. Of the total, \$1,150,800,000 was due to destruction and requisitions, while

home and small industries suffered to the extent of \$251,700,000. No figures were available to show the losses arising from sequestration by the German military authorities.

In his latest report to the Department of Commerce, at Washington, the American Trade Commissioner at Brussels, Harry T. Collings, dealt with the revival of Ostend as a Summer resort and port. Up to June 25 there had been little work for the returned population save in restoration and fishing. In the latter, fishermen with a single thirty-foot boat frequently made a clear profit of \$1,000 a week. As to the port:

The *Vindictive*, which was sunk directly across the entrance to the harbor, has now been moved so that it lies alongside the western pier. The channel entrance is about 400 feet wide, and now permits easy access across the inner harbor. There are Three English dredges at work clearing away accumulations outside of the channel entrance.

In general, the cranes and harbor facilities at Ostend have not been systematically wrecked as at Zeebrugge. Ostend can resume commercial activity in a few weeks, though complete restoration will require months. The entire surroundings have been changed until they have the appearance of a vast fort. Batteries of guns were located at advantageous points for defense, miles of barbed wire have been stretched along the sea walls, and all land approaches to the harbor entrance were made inaccessible in some way.

EGYPT

In both Upper and Lower Egypt military courts were established by General Sir Edmund Allenby to try the delinquents in the ruthless campaign of murder and pillage which swept over the country in the last days of March and the early days of April.

Up to June 25 eight capital sentences had been pronounced, chiefly in connection with the rioting at Facous, where the railway bridge was destroyed. All these sentences were commuted save one, in which the defendant had attacked a native informer while wounded and helpless. Among those sentenced to lighter punishments—penal servitude for from five to fifteen years—were a schoolmaster, an inspector of police, the Omdeh, or head man, of Mansura, and the

President and Vice President of the Workmen's Society.

In addition to individual sentences the British military authorities imposed general fines upon various districts for damage to railways and other Government property. A considerable number of them were remitted by the General Officer commanding the British forces in Egypt. Those which stand amount to \$1,097,310 and the collection will be made on the basis of the Gaffir tax, which affects every household. They were distributed as follows: Upper Egypt, from the region south of Assiut to north of Minieh, \$840,170; Central Egypt, the region of Beni Suef and Gizeh, including Fayum, \$205,100; the Delta area, \$52,040.

FRANCE

The Senate passed the Electoral Reform bill on June 26 by a vote of 129 to 4. The measure had already been passed by the Chamber on April 18 by a vote of 287 to 138 and therefore became a law when promulgated by the President of the Republic. Its principal feature, the revival of the "scrutin de liste," was described last month. Another feature, particularly emphasized in the Senate debates, was the application to the electoral machinery of the country of the principle of proportional representation. This, however, took the form of a compromise and will only be applied in the case of elections in which no party list has secured an absolute majority of the votes cast. Nothing now stands in the way of a general election so long overdue.

The Chamber on July 9 voted, by 256 to 202, to continue the régime of martial law inaugurated on Aug. 4, 1914, the opposition being principally represented by Socialist deputies of all factions.

The vote of confidence of 349 to 157 passed by the Chamber on June 17 is significant because M. Clemenceau, the President of the Council, has no organized party behind him. In France, as in the United Kingdom, an effort is being made to organize the moderates of all the old parties behind their respective Premiers.

Louis Klotz, the Finance Minister, was

busy proposing or attacking a number of finance bills introduced for the purpose of relieving the economic conditions. One introduced in the Chamber on July 4 was for a national lottery, with an issue of tickets to the value of \$6,000,000, and prizes totaling \$1,200,000, the drawings to be held every month for five years after the passage of the bill. On July 16, M. Klotz introduced a bill providing for an agreement between the Government and the Credit National to guarantee the stock issued abroad by the company, whose object is to facilitate repairs of war damages. On the same day four plans were laid before the Cabinet for the purpose of reducing the cost of living and Deputy Henri Roy was appointed a commissioner to carry out the ideas agreed upon. The four plans were:

1. "Clemenceau" or "Vilgrain" food selling booths in Paris will be doubled in number and others will be established in other centres of population.
2. Cheap restaurants to supply meals at fixed prices will be started in Paris and in the provinces, under the control of the Ministry of Supplies.
3. All war stocks of foodstuffs will be sold to the public, chiefly through the co-operative societies.
4. A special service already organized in the Ministry of Supplies will seek to curb illicit speculation in foodstuffs.

M. Clemenceau presented the treaty of peace with Germany to the Chamber on June 30. The debate on it was set for Aug. 1.

On July 14, Bastille Day, detachments of the various allied armies marched under the Arc de Triomphe, with the Americans on the right of the column. Paris witnessed an extraordinary "fête de victoire," the festivities of which were prolonged till the following day.

ITALY

In the thirty days preceding July 15 Italy was subjected to three convulsions, one political, one economic, and one seismic. On June 19 the Orlando Government was discredited in the Chamber by a vote of 259 to 78, and three days later was replaced by one organized by Francesco Saverino Nitti; the popular demonstrations against the new administration, led principally by the poet-aviator Ga-

briele d'Annunzio, were finally smothered under demonstrations against the high cost of living with the seizure of stored food in certain cities. On June 28 an earthquake shook Tuscany, causing nearly 150 deaths and the demolition of over 1,000 buildings.

The overthrow of the Orlando Government marked the return to active politics of Italy's "big boss," Giovanni Giolitti, by his having been able to manipulate those Prefects of provinces who owed their positions to him during his long term of office as Premier and Minister of the Interior, prior to the Spring of 1914, but who ever since had been afraid openly to act for him on account of public sentiment—for in Italy the Deputies take their orders not from their constituents, but from the Prefects appointed by the Interior. The failure of the Orlando-Sonnino combination to realize Italy's ambitions at the Peace Conference gave Giolitti his opportunity. His natural Lieutenant, for he has a penchant for keeping in the background, was Signor Nitti; Nitti had let it be known after Caporetto, in December, 1917, that he was ready to lead a Government which would be ready to make a separate peace with Austria-Hungary; in January last he was forced to retire from the Treasury portfolio because he had advocated concessions to the policy of the Peace Conference, which denied to Italy the claims advanced by Orlando and Sonnino. The Nitti Government was composed as follows:

Premier and Minister of the Interior—FRANCESCO NITTI.
 Foreign Office—TOMMASO TITTONI.
 Colonies—LUIGI ROSSI.
 Justice and Worship—LUDOVICO MOTARA.
 War—Lieut. Gen. ALBRICCI.
 Finance—FRANCESCO TEDESCO.
 Treasury—CARLO SCHANZER.
 Marine, ad Interim—Rear Admiral SECHI.
 Instruction—ALFREDO BACCELLI.
 Public Works—EDUARDO PANTANO.
 Transport—ROBERTO DI VITO.
 Agriculture—ACHILLE VISOCCHI.
 Industry, Commerce, Labor and Food—CARLO FERRARIS.
 Posts—PIETRO CHIMIENTI.
 Military Assistance and Pensions—UGO DA COMO.
 Liberated Provinces—CESARE NAVA.

The new delegation to the Peace Con-

ference was led by Foreign Minister Tittoni, who, aside from having been a member of a former Giolittian Government, had been Ambassador at London and Paris. The other delegates were three Senators, Vittorio Scialoja, William Marconi, and Maggiorini Ferraris, while a Deputy, Georgio Guglielmi, was Secretary of the delegation.

Without letting it become known what would be the exact policy of the Government at the Peace Conference, Nitti turned the attention of the Chamber to economic domestic needs, even postponing discussion on the new Electoral Reform bill. He did this amid a vociferous but futile anti-Nitti campaign carried on by a large section of the press and by public demonstrations. In order to accelerate the distribution of food and of raw material, to keep strikes from assuming a political character, and severely to punish profiteers, royal decrees were resorted to on July 8, reducing the prices of foods from 50 to 60 per cent. On July 14 the Chamber gave Nitti a vote of confidence of 257 to 111.

As to the news which had been sent to this country concerning the political and economic demonstrations, since the Government abolished the press censorship on June 25, the Italian Consul General at New York, Signor Tritonj, sent the following communication to The New York Times on July 10:

During the last few days distorted and exaggerated reports have appeared in the newspapers regarding revolts and strikes in Italy, and especially in Florence.

I would be much indebted to you if you would publish that, according to authoritative information, these troubles were few and isolated. Moreover, they were exclusively economic in character and order has now been restored.

JAPAN.

The text of the alleged German-Japanese Treaty, which attracted so much attention in the United States Senate on July 15-16, was first published in The New York Times on April 19. Its authenticity has ever since been periodically denied by the Japanese Government, particularly by Viscount Uchida, Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs, who, on making denial in a special cable

dispatch to The Times from Toledo, on April 25, added that Japan had never contemplated coming to any "understanding with the Germans in breach of her plighted faith." As the alleged instrument would bind Japan to a fallen Germany to aid in re-establishing Russia, which should then be dominated by both, opinion in the best informed diplomatic circles was that the document was a Russian Bolshevik forgery based on a protocol furnished by the Germans for propaganda purposes.

LATIN AMERICA

The invasion of Mexican territory by United States troops in the middle of June for the purpose of driving the Villistas from the border, and the subsequent representations made by the Mexican Government at Washington and in the press against such intervention and in defense of President Carranza's policy of "hands off," were followed by a flood of communications to the papers and national legislators showing how foreign interests had been abused in Mexico and foreign, particularly American, lives lost through the lack of a responsible government there.

All this produced a new Mexican crisis, and on July 14 the European press freely commented on the prospect of intervention by the United States. What came from the Mexican Government itself as "official," not only on this subject, but on Carranza's attitude toward the League of Nations, was merely transitory. Meanwhile, discoveries made at Coblenz, Prussia, showed that Germany expected to derive a large part of her raw material from Mexico, and was even making negotiations to this end while disputing over the Peace Treaty.

As the month closes, the case of John W. Correll, who was murdered by Mexican bandits, is being strongly pressed upon the Washington Government for retribution.

On July 4 Peruvian troops ousted President Pardo at Lima, placed him and several members of his Cabinet in jail, and proclaimed Augusto B. Leguia Provisional President. An election had been held on May 18 in which the Government candidate, Antero Aspillaga, had

been defeated according to the popular vote registered in the provinces. Aspilaga disputed this and lodged his claim with Congress, when it should convene on July 28, in order to announce the "official" result of the election. All demonstrations and press articles in favor of Leguia were promptly suppressed by President Pardo and doubt was entertained as to the liberty of action of the coming Congress—so the revolution was staged and acted.

In the case of a similar revolutionary movement in Costa Rica the Washington Government declined to recognize the revolutionary President. Americans in Peru, however, since the coup there, have made strong representations to have the Washington Government retain Benton McMillin, not as Minister at Lima, but as Ambassador.

On July 9 Provisional President Leguia was preparing to call a National Assembly for the purpose of having the Constitution changed so that the country might be divided into three Federal States. On July 12 Pardo and his family were sent into exile and arrived at Panama on July 17.

Argentina, by the action of its Senate on July 7, became the first nation to accept the League of Nations covenant.

TURKEY AND THE LEVANT

On June 17 the Turkish delegation to the Paris Peace Conference presented their case, asking for national preservation on the Bosphorus and yielding autonomy for Arabia and Palestine and independence for Armenia. On June 29 the delegation was dismissed with the instruction that the case of Turkey would be dealt with later by the conference. The Allied Council expressed itself as being unable to accept either Turkish promises or protestations, or explanations on their face value.

The text of the secret treaties for the dismemberment of the empire, the last one of which was signed by England, France, and Italy in 1917, was made known by the Paris Temps on July 5. It was of academic, not practical, interest, for the mandates issued by the conference had already covered the ground, ex-

cept in the case of conflicting Italian and Greek areas in Asia Minor and the fate of Constantinople.

On July 11 the Turkish court-martial investigating the cases brought to its attention by the Interallied Commission sentenced Enver Pasha, Talaat Bey, and Djemel Pasha to death, while Djavid Bey and Alusa Mussa Kiazim were each sentenced to fifteen years hard labor. The first four were beyond the jurisdiction of the court. All were leaders of the Young Turks, or Committee of Union and Progress, which turned Turkey pro-German at the beginning of the war and kept her so until the personal envoys of Sultan Mohammed VI. managed to communicate with the British Vice Admiral Calthorp, late in October, 1918, announcing the surrender of Turkey.

The same courts-martial acquitted Rifaat Bey, former President of the Senate, and Nachim Bey, former Minister of Posts and Telegraphs. The four convicted "in contumacium" are supposed to be in Germany, and on July 15 the newspapers of Constantinople stated that the Government contemplated asking the allied and associated nations for permission to extradite Enver, Talaat, and Djemel. For most of the time of the war Enver was Minister of War, Talaat, Grand Vizier and Minister of the Interior; Djemel, Military Governor of Syria, and Djavid, Minister of the Treasury.

The press of Smyrna, that in French as well as in Greek, has construed the presence of a Greek army and the establishment of a Greek civil government as an actual act of union of the old Turkish vilayet with Greece, although proclamations, both military and civil, have emphasized the mandatory nature of the new administration. Papers speaking in this way are *The Liberty*, *The Independent*, and *The Reform*. The latter ends an article printed June 8, colored with a picture of the benefits which the population—Greek, Turkish, Arab, French, and Jewish—are about to receive from a Hellenic administration:

Yes, the union of Smyrna with Greece was necessary. And, today when all is finished, today when all has been achieved, where the glorious Hellenic flag floats majestically over our edifices,

let us as one rise up and with one voice
let us cry aloud: "Long live the Allies!
Long live Greece!"

Fifty miles southeast of the city of Smyrna, on the frontier of the protectorate, according to dispatches sent out by the Athens Government on June 23 and July 4 and 12, General Nide was encountering stubborn resistance on the part of the Turks, who were reported to be well supplied with artillery. General Nide's line at first accounts ran north and south through Perghanos, Magnesia, Nymthaion, and Aidin. Later the Greeks evacuated Aidin, taking some of the civil population with them. When, reinforced, they recaptured the place a few days later, they found that those who had stayed behind had been put to the sword.

The islands of Cyprus and Malta in the weeks immediately preceding the signing of the German treaty of peace tried to attract attention to their status, which they asked to be changed on the principle of "self-determination." Cyprus, partly administered by Great

Britain after 1878, was annexed to the British Crown on Nov. 5, 1914. It has an area of 3,584 square miles, and a population of 300,000, 56,428 of whom are Turks, and 200,000 Greeks. Malta has been held by the British as a naval base since 1814. It has an area of 91½ square miles, and a population nearly as large as Cyprus, more than 15 per cent. of which is Italian; Italian is still the language of the law courts and the Legislative Council.

The Cyprian delegation was received by representatives of the British Government, both in Paris and London, and reports were sent to the island that it would be ceded to Greece, Great Britain retaining certain commercial and military interests. In January, 1915, it had been promised to Greece if she entered the war then. The Maltese delegation was not so fortunate. There were speeches in the Legislative Council which, when translated to him, General Plumer, the military commander, considered seditious.

Brazil's President in the United States

DR. EPITACIO PESSOA, President of Brazil, arrived in the United States from France on June 20. The ship on which he came, the *Imperator*, brought back 9,000 American soldiers. As the ship steamed slowly through the Narrows, a Brazilian flag flying at her mainmast, the Presidential salute of twenty-one guns boomed from the walls of Fort Wadsworth. Officials representing the Government went down the bay and boarded the *Imperator* to welcome the distinguished visitor to the United States. Senhor Pessoa was accompanied by his wife and daughter, his secretary and naval aid, and other Brazilian officials and their wives. In Washington the President was met by White House officials, and received by Vice President Marshall. At a dinner held at the Pan American Union in the evening Senhor Pessoa reviewed the war and the part that the two nations had played in it, emphasizing the bond of both friend and ally that had thereby been formed. On

his return to New York on June 26 he was the guest of honor at an official reception in the City Hall, and in the evening at an official dinner in the Waldorf-Astoria. At this dinner predictions of a marvelous growth for Brazil in the future were made, and an American flag was draped about the Brazilian President's shoulders. Senhor Pessoa lifted a fold of the flag to his lips and kissed it, while the guests applauded. In his answering remarks, the Brazilian President thanked America for the hearty reception afforded him, and said that Brazil's foreign policy had always been inspired by friendly sentiments toward America, tending with no idea of antagonism to Europe toward an ever-increasing understanding of the peoples of America. In this connection he gave high praise to the work of the Pan American Union. The same day the party left for Canada, via Niagara, and arrived at Rio Janeiro on July 16, where the President was warmly welcomed.

Dawning of the Peace Era

Demobilization of the American Troops and Their Return From France Make Rapid Progress

[PERIOD ENDED JULY 20, 1919]

THE signing of the Peace Treaty on June 28, although it had been foreshadowed and to some extent discounted, produced a sensation of relief throughout the United States. The return of the President on July 8 further emphasized the fact that henceforth American energies, so long devoted to war, were to be engrossed with the problems of peace. The ratification of the treaty by the German Government on July 9 led immediately to the lifting of the allied blockade and the resumption of trade relations with the Central Powers. The quickening effect of this event was speedily manifested in the spheres of finance and economics.

Demobilization of the American Army progressed with great rapidity. Out of the nearly 4,000,000 men under arms at the time of the armistice, fewer than 1,000,000 remained in the service at the end of June. By July 19 the War Department's figures showed that 137,786 officers and 2,809,018 enlisted men, or a total of 2,946,804 soldiers, had been discharged since the armistice went into effect. The troops which had sailed from Europe totaled 1,717,168, of which 75,897 were officers.

The estimated strength of the army, as of July 14, was as follows: Europe, A. E. F., 282,000; United States, 372,000; Siberia, 8,500; insular possessions, 28,000; at sea, en route to A. E. F., 500; at sea, en route to United States, 91,000; total, 782,000.

Voluntary enlistments, July 19, totaled 81,742. Included in this were the following: For service in A. E. F. in Europe, 12,754; for A. E. F. in Siberia, 670; Philippine Department, 2,707; Panama Canal, 236; Hawaiian Department, 1,909; Alaska, 128.

A total of 358,315 men sailed from the American Expeditionary Force for the United States in June. This was a

larger number than had sailed to or from Europe during any previous month, and broke all records.

More than 93 per cent. of the 2,000,000 officers and men of the army demobilized since the signing of the armistice were discharged with a clean bill of health, according to an announcement July 9 from the office of the Surgeon General of the Army. Six per cent. of the men were reported to the Bureau of War Risk Insurance of Disabilities, and 1 per cent. were held on account of communicable diseases under development or other causes. The negro troops showed a slightly better physical condition than the white, but a higher percentage were held for communicable diseases. Reports for the week ended July 5 showed a continuation of excellent health conditions in the army, both at home and abroad.

WAR CASUALTIES

Revised statistics showing the total major casualties suffered by thirty American divisions in the battles of St. Mihiel, the Meuse-Argonne, Flanders, and other operations on the western front were made public by the War Department. The figures gave official tabulations of the number of light and heavy artillery guns and machine guns captured by each division, the number of replacement troops sent to reinforce them, and the number of prisoners captured by these divisions during the war.

The total showed major casualties of more than 59,000. The German prisoners captured by the Americans totaled more than 60,000. More than 12,000 artillery pieces and machine guns were captured. Replacements totaled approximately 357,000 men, two divisions, the 1st and 2d, regulars, calling for replacements of several thousand more than the full strength with which they entered the battle line. The same of-

ficial tables showed the American units advanced a total of 767 kilometers, the greatest advance by any single division being 71½ kilometers, made by the 77th, or Camp Upton, Division. (A kilometer is approximately five-eighths of a mile.)

EXPENSES OF ARMY

The total amount expended by the War Department from April 6, 1917, to June 1, 1919, reached \$14,544,610,225, according to a statement sent by Secretary of War Baker June 23 to a special House committee investigating the conduct of the war. Of this amount \$12,704,822,234 was expended in the United States, while \$1,839,787,989 was used in maintaining the American Expeditionary Force.

The expenditures during the same period for Quartermasters' supplies, services, and transportation were \$8,265,705,433. In the United States these expenditures were \$7,142,250,947, and for the same purposes abroad the expenditures amounted to \$1,123,454,486.

For ordnance supplies the total expenditures amounted to \$4,142,483,822, divided as follows: In the United States \$3,783,345,386 and \$359,138,436 abroad.

For the Engineers Corps the War Department expended \$298,003,436 in the United States and \$25,603,565 abroad.

The expenditures made for the Signal Corps in the United States amounted to \$435,762,558, and for the same branch of the service in the American Expeditionary Force \$204,298,587.

The Adjutant General's Department used \$128,601,757 in the United States and \$8,517,848 abroad.

In the United States there was expended by the Provost Marshal General's Department \$30,873,427, while no money was expended by this department abroad. For contingent expenses not covered in the regular department and not covered in the above there was expended in the United States \$2,514,951 and \$440,450 abroad. For additional employes during this period there was spent \$23,411,978 in the United States; no return was given for such expenses abroad.

The refusal of Congress to meet the recommendations of the Administration for an army of 506,000 men and the re-

ductions carried in the Army Appropriation bill forced General March, Chief of Staff, to take steps for retrenchment all along the line in army matters, wherever that was possible. General March sent a telegram July 3 to all military commands throughout the United States calling for reduction of the commissioned personnel and making it plain that all officers holding emergency commissions would be discharged before the end of September. The text of General March's telegram follows:

Appropriations for the support of the army make it necessary that immediate and energetic steps be taken by you to expedite reduction of commissioned personnel. By Sept. 30, 1919, it will be necessary that a peace-time strength of commissioned personnel, as provided by the National Defense act, be reached and that officers of permanent establishment be returned to their regular grade. All officers holding only commissions for the emergency, including applicants for permanent appointment, will be discharged on or before that date. The commanding officers of all departments, port of embarkation, chiefs of all staff corps, and the commanding officers of all camps and military stations not under jurisdiction of any of the above, will take immediate steps to readjust the duties of commissioned personnel under their jurisdiction and to cause discharge of officers holding only emergency commissions as rapidly as possible and in such manner that all will be discharged on or before Sept. 30, 1919.

It was stated officially on July 11 that since the armistice went into effect a total of 571 officers of the regular army had been discharged from their emergency rank and reduced in rank under orders effective up to July 21. These reductions were:

Major General to Brigadier General, 3.
Major General to Colonel, 13.
Brigadier General to Colonel, 63.
Brigadier General to Lieutenant Colonel, 45.
Brigadier General to Major, 25.
Brigadier General to Captain, 2.
Colonel to Lieutenant Colonel, 42.
Colonel to Major, 64.
Colonel to Captain, 20.
Lieutenant Colonel to Major, 21.
Lieutenant Colonel to Captain, 49.
Lieutenant Colonel to First Lieutenant, 1.
Major to Captain, 84.
Major to First Lieutenant, 6.
Captain to First Lieutenant, 75.
Captain to Second Lieutenant, 16.

First Lieutenant to Second Lieutenant, 41.
Total, 571.

STRENGTH OF 1920 ARMY

On June 27 the Senate and House conferees on the Army Appropriation bills reached an agreement to fix the average size of the 1920 army at 325,000 officers and men. This total was 75,000 less than that proposed by the Senate and 25,000 more than the strength authorized originally by the House.

The agreement, reached after the members of the Conference Committee had talked with General March, Chief of Staff, meant that for the last nine months of the year ending June 30, 1920, the army would be composed of 225,000 officers and men, this reduction being made necessary by the surplus above 325,000 during the next three months.

In announcing that 325,000 was the figure agreed upon, Chairman Wadsworth of the Senate Military Committee said that it was the lowest number that could be named while keeping the army within the limits prescribed by the National Defense act, which required the maintenance of an army of 225,000.

TROOPS FOR MEXICAN BORDER

Secretary Baker announced June 20 that he had issued instructions for the authorization of the enlistment of 26,450 men for special assignment on the Mexican border. The purpose of this, it was explained, was to release for discharge men who had enlisted only for the period of the emergency of the war against Germany.

At the same time these enlistments would enable the army to maintain at full strength its units along the border or within striking distance of the border. Men were to be enlisted for the following arms and corps not to exceed the numbers indicated:

Infantry, white, 6,000; infantry, colored, 2,000; cavalry, white, 10,000; field artillery, 2,000; engineers, 800; Medical Corps, 1,200; ordnance, 150; Signal Corps, 300; air service, 500, and Quartermaster Corps, 1,500.

A War Department report, issued June 25, announced that purchase and storage contracts outstanding June 1 aggregated

\$107,000,000, against more than \$1,000,000,000 when hostilities ceased. Of the 17,000 contracts which were liquidated more than half were settled without cost to the Government, suspension having caused the contractors no loss. It was estimated that liquidation of war contracts had saved more than \$1,000,000,000, and that contracts still to be liquidated would result in additional savings of more than \$1,800,000,000.

TOTAL WAR COSTS

The manner in which the United States provided the finances necessary for participation in the world war during the period from April 6, 1917, to June 30, 1919, was set forth July 8 by Secretary Glass, who made public a letter he had sent to Senator Penrose of the Finance Committee of the Senate, and Representative Fordney, Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of the House. Mr. Glass reiterated that he had no intention of floating another popular Liberty Loan, and expressed the belief that the situation from now on could be met by the flotation of short-term notes to financial institutions at not more than 4½ per cent. interest, provided means for obtaining money by taxation were not curtailed abruptly, and that strict economy were practiced.

Mr. Glass put the total of wartime expenditures of the Government at \$32,427,469,054, of which, he said, \$30,177,000,000 was chargeable directly to the war, without deducting \$9,102,285,015 in foreign loans, practically all of which is guaranteed by the Allies.

He showed that the total revenues from April 6, 1917, to June 30, 1919, were \$9,384,278,708. These revenues did not include two installments on income and excess profits taxes for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1919, which were yet to be paid.

DISSOLUTION OF WAR BOARDS

Much uncertainty had been felt as to the period when the various boards that had served as adjuncts to the Government during the war would cease to function. Many important business interests were concerned in the decision. The Law

Department of the Government issued the following statement on the subject:

STATE DEPARTMENT

Alien Passport Control Section of Passport Bureau—Terminates with close of the war.

Alien Military Section of Office of the Solicitor—Terminates with the close of the war.

Special Information Service of Office of the Counselor—This has been conducting secret investigations for the State Department and may continue for some time after the close of the war.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT

Bureau of War Risk Insurance (insurance of vessels against loss or damage by the risks of war)—Service ceases with termination of the war.

Bureau of War Risk Insurance (awards as to allotments of pay of enlisted men to dependents)—Service ceases one month after the war.

Bureau of War Risk Insurance (awards of compensation for death or disability of persons in military and naval service, and sale of insurance to soldiers, sailors, and marines)—Service permanent.

Bureau of War Risk Insurance (licensing of foreign insurance companies engaged in business in United States)—Service ceases with termination of war.

War Finance Corporation (finances investment banking of country by making loans to banks and trust companies for financing war activities)—No powers to be exercised longer than six months after termination of war, except those incidental to liquidation of assets and wind up affairs.

Capital Issues Committee (has investigated and determined whether securities in excess of \$100,000 shall be issued by private concerns)—Act in effect not longer than six months after termination of the war.

War Loan Organization (has stimulated sale of bonds and other Government securities)—No time of termination specified. Will probably continue as long as present series of bond issues are authorized.

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT

Telegraph and Telephone Service (took possession and assumed control and supervision of telegraph and telephone systems)—Terminates with date of proclamation by President of exchange of ratifications of Peace Treaty.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

Bureau of License of Farm Equipment Industry—Terminates with the declaration of peace.

Bureau of License of Fertilizer Industry—Terminates with the declaration of peace.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

Women in Industry Service—Continues "during present emergency."

Bureau of Industrial Housing and Transportation—Power and authority to cease with termination of present war, except power to care for, sell, or rent such property as remains undisposed of.

Working Conditions Service—Continues "during present emergency."

War Labor Policies Board—Continues "during present emergency."

Investigation and Inspection Service—War measure; no time specified.

Training and Dilution Board (formed to train workers for war occupations requiring partial skill in order to dilute the supply of skilled workers)—Continues "during present emergency."

United States Employment Service—Continues "during the present emergency," but was reduced to skeleton organization because Congress refused to keep it going full blast.

National War Labor Board—Appointments made for period of the war.

Information and Education Service of the Industrial Bureau (has been conducting a general publicity campaign for education of workers to right point of view toward industry and war)—Continues "during the present war."

INDEPENDENT ESTABLISHMENTS

Allen Property Custodian—All moneys or properties entrusted to him to be disposed of after the war as Congress shall direct. No other termination provision.

Aircraft Board—To continue during pleasure of the President, but not longer than five months after present war.

Arsenals and Navy Yards Wage Commission—No date of termination specified.

Committee on Public Information—No date of termination specified, but most of its work has been wound up.

Council of National Defense—No date specified.

Export Control Committee—No date specified.

United States Censorship Board—Power given during continuance of war.

United States Food Administration—Terminates with declaration of peace.

United States Fuel Administration—Terminates with declaration of peace.

United States Grain Corporation—Terminates with declaration of peace.

United States Railroad Administration—To continue during the period of the war, and not to exceed one year and nine months after proclamation of peace.

United States Shipping Board—Permanent.

United States Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation—Existence limited to five years from close of European war.

War Industries Board—No date of termination specified.

War Trade Board—Powers continue "during the present war."

NAVY REORGANIZATION

The change in the American naval policy whereby the ships were reorganized into two powerful major battleship fleets went into effect June 30. In the past it has been the policy to keep all the battleships in active commission in one great fleet known as the Atlantic Fleet. Hereafter there will be two, the Atlantic Fleet and the Pacific Fleet. The Atlantic Fleet will have its rendezvous in the Atlantic and the new Pacific battleship fleet will cruise and manoeuvre in the Pacific. Besides these two main fleets there will be certain naval detachments in European waters and an Asiatic fleet, based on the Philippines.

Admiral Henry Baird Wilson, until recently ranking American naval officer at Brest, hoisted his pennant as commander of the new Atlantic Fleet June 30. On the same day the new Pacific Fleet was formed at Hampton Roads, and Admiral Hugh Rodman, who was in command of the American battleship squadron that saw service with the British fleet in the North Sea, assumed command.

Admiral Rodman sailed from Hampton Roads with the new Pacific Fleet for San Francisco on July 19, via the Panama Canal. Secretary Daniels had intended to make the trip to the Pacific on the dreadnought New Mexico, which had been chosen as Admiral Rodman's flagship, but later announced that he would make the journey by train and review the Pacific Fleet at San Francisco.

The plan has been to make the two major fleets as nearly equal as possible, and at least twice annually it is planned to bring them together for competitive war games. The battleships in the new Atlantic Fleet will have an aggregate displacement of 314,350 tons. Those in the Pacific Fleet will have an aggregate displacement of 324,140 tons. There will also be cruisers, destroyers, submarines, and other units attached to each.

During the month of June American shipyards turned out 272 vessels, aggregating 422,889 gross tons, according to

estimates of the Bureau of Navigation of the Department of Commerce. Of this amount of new shipping the department's figures showed that 72 of the vessels were steel boats, and totaled 329,981 gross tons; 39 wood, totaling 82,362 gross tons, and 161 vessels, nonseagoing, totaling 10,546 gross tons.

Agreement was reached on June 24 by Senate and House conferees on legislation to repeal Government control of telegraph, telephone, and other wire systems. The conferees adopted the House plan of ending Government control at midnight on the last day of the calendar month in which the law is approved. Toll and local exchange telephone rates are to be continued four months unless sooner changed by State commissions—a compromise between the 90 days' rate extension clause of the Senate bill and the six months' continuance proposed by the House.

The practical effect of the legislation, the conferees stated, would be that all the wires would be returned to private control and operation at midnight July 31, as it was expected confidently that the law would be signed by the President before the end of July.

ARMY OF OCCUPATION

The three American divisions which were concentrated east of the Rhine in the American bridgehead area were expected to remain there until the Peace Treaty was actually signed.

Major Gen. Henry T. Allen assumed command of the American forces in Germany on July 8. He succeeded Major Gen. E. F. McGlachlin, commanding the 1st Division, who had served at Coblenz in the interim between the departure of Lieut. Gen. Hunter Liggett and the arrival of General Allen.

It was believed that General Allen would remain in command of the American forces which were to be kept for some time on the Rhine. The 8th Infantry was on its way to Coblenz to be a part of that force. A battalion of artillery was being recruited to remain, as well as auxiliary branches. Members of General Liggett's staff were departing one by one, and the 5th, 4th, and 2d Divisions were about to leave for home.

Overseas Flight of Dirigible R-34

First Crossing of the Atlantic by a Craft of the Lighter-Than-Air Type—The Return Voyage

THE first continuous flight by a dirigible balloon across the Atlantic Ocean was successfully accomplished on Sunday, July 6, 1919, with the arrival at Roosevelt Field, Mineola, L. I., of the British naval airship R-34 at 9:21 A. M. The giant airship thereby completed the longest continuous flight in history, having covered a distance of 3,200 miles, not counting the extra mileage due to adverse winds, in a trifle more than 108 hours. It carried thirty-one persons, one of whom enjoyed the distinction of being the first stowaway in the history of aerial navigation. Later the R-34 made the return trip in three days, thus rounding out one of the greatest achievements in the history of transatlantic travel.

For more than 300 years after the crossing of the Atlantic by Columbus, wind power remained the sole means for propelling ships across the ocean, until in 1819 the Savannah, an American steamship of 350 tons, with a length of 100 feet, crossed from Savannah, Ga., to Liverpool in twenty-five days. The Savannah, however, was also provided with sails. The first real steam transit was effected by the Sirius and the Great Western, both in April, 1838, in eighteen and fifteen days respectively.

Just 100 years after the sailing of the Savannah three successful flights were made across the Atlantic, one by the American hydroplane NC-4, another by the British biplane of Alcock and Brown, the third by the giant British dirigible R-34.

A previous attempt to fly across the ocean in a dirigible had been made in October, 1910, by Walter Wellman and Melvin Vaniman. These two pioneers started out from Atlantic City with a crew of four men, including an Englishman, an Australian, and two Americans. Their objective was whatever point on the coast of England, Ireland, or France

the wind might carry them to. Adverse weather made it impossible for this balloon to reach its destination, and it was finally picked up by a steamer half way between New York and Bermuda. The men were rescued and the dirigible abandoned. The disastrous ending of the attempt of the American "blimp," the C-5, was described in the July issue of CURRENT HISTORY.

STORY OF THE R-34

Shortly before the signing of the armistice, the British Air Ministry called into conference some of the best aerial experts among the Allies, and announced that it had been decided to build lighter-than-air bombing machines, larger even than the Zeppelins the Germans had sent over London. Twin ships of the same construction were agreed upon and ordered. The ending of the war brought no interruption of labor upon these airships, which were turned out at the plants of Sir W. G. Armstrong, Whitworth & Co., at Inchinnan, near Edinburgh. The work was carried on so rapidly that both ships—named the R-33 and the R-34—were ready for trial flights by March, 1919. They were accepted by the Admiralty, armed with machine guns, bombing apparatus, and other war material, and held in readiness at their hangars at East Fortune, near Edinburgh, for any emergency.

When it seemed quite certain that the Germans would not give cause for further hostilities, it was decided to remodel both air cruisers and send at least one of them on a peaceful trip to the United States.

The R-34 and its sister ship, the R-33, are the largest dirigibles in the world. The R-34 is about 670 feet long, with a beam of about 79 feet, and from the top of her cigar-shaped gas bag to the lowest point of her five gondolas she measures about 90 feet. The capacity of her gas bag is about 2,200,000 cubic feet.

The silken bag has more than fifteen separate chambers, and the entire bag is stretched tightly over a flexible metal frame which is reinforced strongly by wires. Five gondolas carry the members of the crew and the motors to furnish power. The forward gondola is for the use of the commander and the navigator and also carries the radio instruments.

A powerful wireless apparatus was one of the additions made to the dirigible after the dismantling process began. The range of the apparatus is estimated at something over 1,500 miles. One of the special pieces of apparatus attached to the radio plant was a directional finder which was the subject of experiments during the trip. Meteorological apparatus was also installed in the gondola containing the radio plant.

The five motors are of the Sunbeam-Maori type, of about 250 horse power, and with 2,500 revolutions enable the airship to make 70 miles an hour under favorable conditions.

All the gondolas are inclosed by glass and are connected by a huge platform, so that the commander and the members of the crew may pass easily from one gondola to the others. The gondolas are equipped with cooking apparatus, so that hot meals may be prepared for the thirty members of the crew.

When the war apparatus was stripped from the vessel six extra gasoline tanks were added, and it was estimated that this gave the dirigible a cruising radius of about 5,000 miles. Changes made her total freight and fuel capacity about twenty-one tons, the weight of the balloon itself and the other equipment amounting to about thirty tons.

PERSONNEL OF CREW

The pilot of the R-34 was Major G. H. Scott, A. F. C. Born in London in 1883, in 1914 he was flying airplanes at Hendon, and enlisted in the Royal Naval Air Service. After flying Rigid Dirigible No. 9 he became experimental officer at Pulham Air Station and superintended the construction of the R-34 at Inchinnan. The navigating officer was Major G. G. H. Cooks, D. S. C. Born in Kent in 1880, he joined the navy at the age of 15, and during the war saw service

in East Africa and the Dardanelles. Captain Harris, R. A. F., was the meteorological officer. Lieut. Commander Lansdowne was the United States naval observer aboard the ship. The crew consisted wholly of trained men. The full list of the officers and crew of the R-34 is given herewith:

Ship's Officers—Major G. H. Scott, A. F. C., Captain; Captain G. S. Greenland, First Officer; Second Lieut. H. F. Luck, Second Officer; Second Lieut. J. D. Shotton, Engineer Officer; Brig. Gen. E. M. Maitland, C. M. G., D. S. O., representing Air Ministry; Major J. E. M. Prichard, (Air Ministry); Lieut. Commander Z. Lansdowne, O. B. E., U. S. Naval Airship Service; Major G. G. H. Cooke, D. S. C., Navigating Officer; Lieutenant Guy Harris, Meteorological Officer; Second Lieut. R. D. Durrant, Wireless Officer; W. O. W. R. Mayes, Coxswain.

Engineers—Flight Sergeant Gent, Flight Sergeant Scull, Flight Sergeant Riplee, Sergeant Evenden, Sergeant Thirlwall, Corporal Cross, Lg. Air Craftsman Graham, Corporal Gray, Air Craftsman Parker, Air Craftsman Northeast, L. A. C. Mort.

Riggers—Flight Sergeant Robinson, Sergeant Watson, Corporal Burgess, Corporal Smith, L. A. C. Forteach, L. A. C. Browdie.

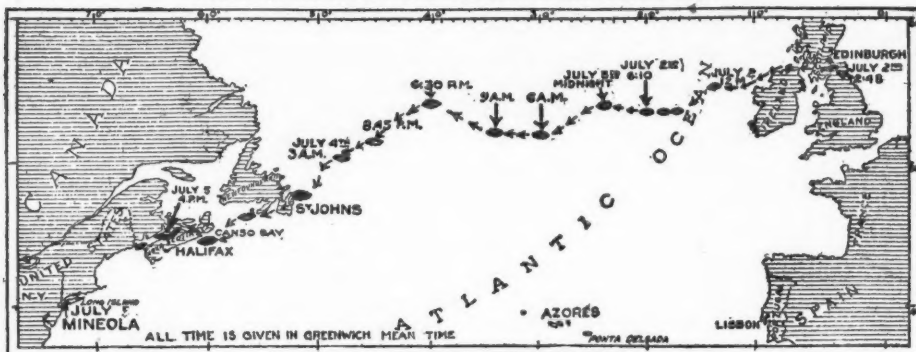
Wireless Telegraphy Operators—Corporal Powell, A. C. Edwards.

Before the final departure a number of tests were instituted, all of which were completely satisfactory. In the R-34's first real test she was in actual flight for 22 hours. Later she made a demonstration cruise, in the course of which she flew across the North Sea, sighting Heligoland, and then coasted over Hamburg, past the Kiel Canal, and by way of Copenhagen to the Southern Baltic. Here she cruised for some time, and then turned homeward. On her return she was compelled to fight her way steadily for twenty hours against a strong west wind. This was considered the most satisfactory test of all, for she was completely under control for 66 hours, the full duration of the trip, which covered a cruising radius of 1,700 miles.

FLIGHT TO AMERICA

Filled with confidence from the results of this long experimental cruise, the officers and crew waited for favorable

Course of the R-34 from Scotland to the United States



weather conditions under which to begin their long non-stop flight across the Atlantic to Mineola, L. I. This time came on Wednesday, July 2, and the gigantic craft rose from the ground at 1:48 P. M. Greenwich time. The cheers that greeted the event had barely ceased before the outline of the rudder and stern grew blurred in the vision of the onlookers below, and the vast shape became more and more indistinct as she flew rapidly in a northwesterly direction.

MESSAGES RECEIVED

On the evening of her departure, the British Air Ministry received a wireless from Commander Scott saying that at 20:15 Greenwich mean time, (4:15 P. M. New York time,) the big dirigible was flying westward at thirty knots 2,000 feet above the sea. At this height she was above the clouds and enjoying brilliant sunshine. At 2 o'clock, (G. M. T.,) she was approximately 311 miles due west of Clifden, on the coast of Connaught, Ireland, on a southwesterly course, and approximately 590 miles from East Fortune, her starting point. Another message received July 3 at 8:45 said that the dirigible was flying at 1,000 feet at 52:10 north latitude and 45 west longitude.

At 10 P. M., Greenwich time, a wireless received at St. John's, N. F., reported the dirigible 400 miles northwest of St. John's. Further messages confirmed her course toward the northern end of Newfoundland. Messages telling her progress were read in the British House of Commons on July 3.

On July 4, at 9 o'clock G. M. T., the R-34 wirelessly St. John's that she had abandoned her attempt to reach that place, and was proceeding westward from Trinity Bay, headed for New York. At 6:30 o'clock G. M. T. the British Naval Station reported that the R-34 was lost in a dense fog north of Trinity Bay. Subsequent messages reported that the big dirigible had been battling adverse winds all day Saturday, July 5, over Nova Scotia and the Bay of Fundy.

A message received late in the evening of July 5 caused alarm for the safety of the dirigible and led American Navy officials to order all available vessels in the Boston naval district to hurry out to her aid. This message read as follows:

Rush help. Making for Boston from Bay of Fundy at twenty-three knots. Come quickly; gasoline giving out. Send ship.

Admiral Benson, Chief of Naval Operations, immediately instructed Rear Admiral Dunn, commander at Boston, to send out all available ships, and to get in touch with the dirigible. The destroyer Bancroft was soon trailing the struggling airship. Another destroyer, the Stevens, was sent at full speed. Early on July 6 a message came from the Bancroft, stating that the R-34 had wireless belief that the fuel supply would hold until the ship reached Chatham.

R-34 REACHES MINEOLA

Finally, at 2 o'clock on the morning of July 6, the commander of the R-34, taking advantage of a fortunate turn of the

wind, reported his decision to attempt a direct seventy-mile flight to the planned objective point, Mineola, in the hope that his fuel would last. This attempt was successful, and on Sunday, July 6, at 8:45 A. M., New York time, the big dirigible reached Roosevelt Park, Mineola, L. I., circled the field three times to make observations, and at 9:21 o'clock the first overseas air pilgrim, Major John Maddock Pritchard, landed upon American soil, after a parachute drop of fully 2,000 feet.

Soon afterward the great bulk of the R-34 was securely lashed to her moorings by a force of at least 500 assistants, and the officers and crew, ruddy and vigorous, stepped out of the gondola of the dirigible upon firm land.

They brought a story of trying experience. Four times on Friday night and early Saturday morning heavy squalls and thunderstorms had threatened to cripple or smash the flying colossus. During the worst of the storm on Friday night the big airship was suddenly tossed aloft 500 feet and pitched about like a dory in a heavy sea. For a time there was great danger that a vital part would be smashed, but the workmanship and material in every part of the 630-foot air giant proved flawless, and Commander Scott got his craft safely through. His officers and men were at a loss for words to express their admiration for his navigating and for the stanchness of the R-34.

With the crew came William Balantyne, a former member of the crew, who had hidden in the rigging, and whose presence had been discovered some sixty hours out from Scotland. He had been set to work, and it was intimated that his punishment would not be severe.

STORY OF FLIGHT

The story of the actual flight across the Atlantic, as told by the informal log kept by General Maitland and other officers, was not particularly eventful. The most difficult moment after departure was in crossing the hills of Scotland; owing to the large quantity of petrol carried, (almost 5,000 gallons, weighing 15.8 tons,) the dirigible had to fly low, and at the same time pass over Northern

Scotland, where the hills in places rise to a height of 3,000 feet. The wind here was broken up into violent currents and air pockets. The most disturbed conditions were met in the mouth of the Clyde, south of Loch Lomond, which, surrounded by high mountains, looked particularly beautiful in the gray dawn light.

The islands at the mouth of the Firth of Clyde were quickly passed. The north coast of Ireland appeared for a time, and soon faded from view as the R-34 headed out into the Atlantic. Most of the day-by-day log following the description of this first stage of the journey was taken up by cloud observations, color effects, accounts of wireless exchanges, and of sleeping and eating arrangements. Icebergs were sighted toward Newfoundland. A message of congratulation from the Governor of Newfoundland was received. Anxieties consequent on the serious depletion of the fuel supply marked the last stages of the journey.

DANIELS CONGRATULATES

Immediately after the news had been officially received, Secretary Daniels sent this message of congratulation:

Major G. H. Scott, Commanding the R-34:

The American Navy extends its greetings to you and the heroic crew of the R-34, and congratulates you on the success of your great flight across the ocean. The arrival in America of the first lighter-than-air craft to cross the Atlantic marks another decided advance in the navigation of the air. Coming so soon after the flights of Read, Alcock, and Hawker, it completes a remarkable series of achievements in aviation in which British and Americans may take a just pride, and which have served to increase the cordial relations and comradeship of the two navies which have prevailed throughout the war. America joins with Britain in honoring you and the service you represent. JOSEPHUS DANIELS.

Soon after arrival, General Maitland presented to the President of the American Flying Club a letter of greeting from the Royal Air Force Club, London, sent in response to a letter carried by the NC-3 to Ponta Delgada and then by Commander Read of the NC-4 from the Azores to England. This was the first interchange of greetings carried by air, between flying clubs in this country and Europe.

THE RETURN JOURNEY

After three anxious days at Roosevelt Field, Long Island, during which the R-34 was often under perilous strain from high winds, she began her equally remarkable return journey. Out of a blaze of searchlights she rose exactly at midnight, Wednesday, July 9, first flying over Manhattan Island and giving New Yorkers in Times Square a wonderful view of her graceful outlines. Having been notified in advance, thousands of persons lined Broadway and cheered a farewell to the departing airship. She carried copies of *The New York Times* which were read in England three days later.

The return voyage was aided by favorable winds and took only seventy-five hours. On July 13 the R-34 arrived at the air station at Pulham, England, at 6:56 A. M., Greenwich mean time, (2:56 A. M., New York time,) thus completing her trip from the British Isles to the United States and back. Soon after daybreak 400 men stationed at the aerodrome had been roused from their sleep to prepare for the landing of the transatlantic voyager. Shouts from the field greeted the first sight of the long gray body, low on the horizon. After skillful manoeuvring, involving a drop from 5,000 to 2,000 feet, the airship was brought to her moorings, while a military band played "The Call of Duty."

Major Scott told the story of the homeward trip as follows:

We estimated that we could make it in from seventy to eighty hours. We made it in seventy-five. When we left we had

a strong wind behind us, and we covered the first 800 miles in about eight hours. When we circled over New York we could plainly see the crowds on Broadway waving to us as we passed, but we could not hear them because of the noise of the engines.

South of Newfoundland we encountered head winds and our progress from then on was slower. We traveled at an average height of 3,000 to 5,000 feet, and found much low clouds and fog. Once we saw nothing but fog for twenty-four hours.

We struck Ireland at Clifden, and made good progress from there, although our steering engine broke down Saturday morning. We started with 4,900 gallons of gasoline, and had 1,000 gallons left.

We are naturally pleased with the trip, all of us. I expect important changes in the size and speed of future airships—big ships that will travel seventy to eighty miles an hour and powerful enough to crawl through anything.

Many congratulatory messages, including one from King George, were received by the successful aviators.

The large Handley-Page biplane, the *Atlantic*, commanded by Admiral Kerr, abandoned its projected transatlantic trip and attempted to fly from Newfoundland to New York, but was forced to land on July 5 at Parrsboro, N. S., after thirteen hours of flight; the machine was wrecked, but the occupants were uninjured. Frederick P. Raynham's *Martinsyde* biplane, *Chimera*, after ninety-seven days of waiting for favorable weather conditions, also was wrecked beyond repair on July 17 when making a final attempt to get away for the Irish Coast. The other airplanes scheduled for transatlantic flight had been withdrawn.

Aliens Flock to Europe

THE Passport Bureau in the Custom House of New York City was besieged by aliens seeking passports to return to Europe. Most of these applicants were Italians and Greeks. The record for a single day prior to July 1 totalled 3,000. Long processions stood for hours, or sat on camp stools, supplied with food by their women, waiting for their turn to complete the arrangements necessary for their departure. Prior to March 1 many of these return-

ing aliens left without paying their income taxes. By a new ruling on this point, every alien after that date had to show a receipt from the Internal Revenue Collector before receiving a permit to leave the country. It was estimated that nearly \$4,000,000 had been lost to the Government before the March 1 ruling, and that more than \$1,000,000 had been collected since. Many of those departing declared that the reason for their return was the new Prohibition Law.

Russia in the Balance

Tide of Battle Sways on Different Fronts—Denikin Sweeps Forward in South—Odessa Retaken by Grigoriev

[PERIOD ENDED JULY 15, 1919]

THE events in Russia during June and July showed a curious oscillation in the conflict between the Bolsheviki and their opponents on many fronts. The Allies pushed ever nearer Petrograd on the north; a virtual state of war existed between Finland and the Bolshevik outposts. The Estonian offensive made little progress against a strong Bolshevik counteroffensive. In the south the Bolsheviki underwent serious defeat; Odessa was again recaptured from the Soviet forces by the revolted Hetman Grigoriev; Petliura closed in on Kiev, and Denikin by a widely sweeping offensive took Kharkov, the fifth largest Russian city, and Tsaritsin, on which his right flank had long been pivoting.

In the east the Kolchak armies strove desperately to make good the defeats encountered in May, but the Bolsheviki succeeded in taking the important centre of Ufa, and subsequently drove Kolchak's forces out of Glazov, 150 miles west of Perm; ultimately they captured Perm, leaving the Siberian armies hard pressed against the Urals. Reports received on July 9, however, showed that the successes gained by Denikin had been phenomenal; the Bolsheviki were being driven out of all Ukraine, and the general trend of events pointed to the transfer of interest from Kolchak's armies to those of Denikin, whose campaign, aided by British tanks, munitions, and men, had revealed itself as brilliant in the extreme.

Conditions in Soviet Russia were so bad that they were denounced even by Maxim Gorky in his Petrograd newspaper. Declarations by Lenin that dictatorship in Soviet Russia was justified were followed by reports of the reign of terror established in Petrograd and elsewhere. In the east, despite his military reverses, Kolchak proceeded with his

building up of a strong anti-Bolshevist State.

THE NORTHERN FRONT

On the Archangel and Murmansk fronts the main trend of events pointed to the speedy withdrawal of all allied troops and to the ultimate transfer of all military operations against the Bolsheviki to the Russian troops already on the ground. This allied policy was explained by Lord Churchill in the House of Commons on May 30; the departure of British contingents on June 14 and of American engineering forces on June 27 indicated that this policy was being systematically carried out. New forces, however, were arriving to relieve the old, and it appeared about the middle of June that the intention of General Ironsides, the British allied commander, was to co-operate as long as necessary with the Russian troops, especially Dyer's battalion, composed of ex-Bolshevist prisoners trained with Russian and British officers, and other Russian forces, counting, all told, some 23,000 fighting men, to counter Bolshevik attacks and cover final allied evacuation of Archangel as a fighting base.

Seaplanes and airplanes on the Vaga River and Lake Onega aided the allied operations. On July 8 it was stated that the Finnish volunteers in the north had reached a point within thirty miles of Petrograd, and that forces of the North Russian Government were operating in the Province of Olonetz, the district northeast of Petrograd which had revolted against the Bolshevik régime and whose secession the Finnish volunteers had supported by force of arms.

The triple campaign pursued in Esthonia against Petrograd was described in detail in the July issue of *CURRENT HISTORY*. This offensive represented the cul-

mination of attacks by Finnish White Guards and Esthonian and Russian volunteer troops for several months. Esthonian and Russian volunteers under General Judenitch and Colonel Belakhovitch were closing in on Petrograd. At one time this offensive reached Gatschina, a point within thirty-five miles of Petrograd, but the result remained in doubt. An official statement issued by the Esthonian Bureau in Copenhagen on July 7 showed that the Bolsheviks had pressed a strong counter-offensive; the Esthonian forces had sustained defeat and were retreating. The anti-Bolshevist forces were also reported to have abandoned several positions along the coast of the Gulf of Finland and the Petrograd-Narva railroad. Krasnayagorka, on the Baltic, had been last, but Kronstadt still held out.

On July 7 the Council of Five of the Peace Conference sent a joint note to the Military Attachés of the United States, Great Britain, France, and Italy at Helsingfors, instructing them to support the Finnish Government if it decided to accede to the request of Admiral Kolchak to assist him in the campaign by an attack on Petrograd.

GERMANS IN LETTLAND

In connection with the ultimatum sent by Marshal Foch on June 10 to the Germans in Letvia and Esthonia to cease attacks upon the Esthonian forces and to withdraw immediately to the south of the line already laid down, Herr Noske, the German Minister of Defense, speaking at the German Socialist Congress in Copenhagen on June 13, said that the order had been given some weeks before to begin the withdrawal of the troops in Esthonia. Two divisions had already been withdrawn from Courland, and would be used against the Poles in West Prussia. No German troops, he stated, were at that time fighting against the Esthonians and Letts, and all who had entered the Baltic Landwehr had lost their German citizenship. A telegram to the official Lettish Bureau from Libau, dated July 1, said that the report of the evacuation of Riga by the Germans was premature. General von der Goltz had taken com-

mand, and had established martial law; he had proclaimed himself Governor General and appointed the German Major, Arnim, Governor of the city.

By June 25, General Zukauskas, with a Lithuanian army of 25,000 men, had expelled the Bolshevik forces from the greater part of Lithuania and had begun an offensive against the Bolsheviks near Dvinsk. This movement was a continuation of the combined Lettish, Esthonian, and Lithuanian offensive which resulted in the expulsion of the Bolsheviks from Riga in May. The Polish offensive in Lithuania in the vicinity of Vilna was still progressing in early June.

IN THE UKRAINE

The two main features in the fighting in the south during June and July were the successes gained in the west by Hetman Grigoriev, whose defection from the Bolsheviks was recorded last month, and the sweeping victories won by General Denikin in the centre and east.

Hetman Grigoriev remained in possession of Odessa but a short time after his revolt against the Soviet, but on June 28 news came that he had occupied that city for the second time, and also Khereson and Nikolaiev, the three most important ports on the Black Sea, and was marching northward to effect a junction with the Ukrainian forces of General Petliura, who had advanced along his entire front and had reached a point within twenty miles of Kiev.

Meanwhile the Cossack troops of General Denikin, reinforced by British tanks and wearing British uniforms, made a sweeping drive in the Don and Donetz regions, captured the fifth most important of Russia's main cities, Kharkov, and advanced on Kursk, 250 miles south of Moscow, in an effort to open a way to the present Soviet capital. Two days later the capture by Denikin of the Volga city, Tsaritsin, south of Saratov, was also admitted by the Reds.

A British observer returned to London described the great assistance given Denikin by supplies and munitions provided by the British Government. When he left Ekaterinodar there were lying on the quays and in the warehouses muni-

tions, guns, clothing, airplanes, and tanks to the value of \$58,000,000. Hundreds of British officers were at this base, mostly specialists, rendering assistance to Denikin's army. The British military instructors praised the Cossack General's soldiers for their aptitude in learning how to handle the airplanes and tanks. The latter had been particularly effective; the Bolshevik soldiers fled from them terror-stricken, and the Cossack soldiers leaned from their horses to kiss them as they passed. A public exhibition of the British tanks was given at Ekaterinodar and Novo Rossisk; the whole population turned out to gaze at them with wondering eyes.

EXTENT OF DENIKIN'S GAINS

After these successes Denikin made plans to effect a junction with the forces of Admiral Kolchak. The Bolshevik army opposing him had lost 80 per cent. of its effectives and territory, from which large numbers of recruits were drawn into Denikin's ranks. In three weeks, more or less, he had trebled his territory. Along the whole front from the Caspian to the Sea of Azov four Red armies had been thoroughly defeated, losing half their number and constantly retreating. By the end of June he had captured 22,000 prisoners, 150 guns, 350 machine guns, four armored trains, and an immense amount of other booty. The Don and the Donetz basins had been retaken.

Denikin's front at this time presented an odd configuration. It resembled a clumsily sprawling camel with its forefeet on the Caspian, its knees far up in the waterless Kalmyk steppes southwest of Tsaritsyn, its head high up in the Don territory, and its neck running along north of Lugansk and Bakhmut, then south to the Sea of Azov.

General Denikin was described as of medium height, thick set, with close-clipped gray beard, bristling mustache, and a big, round forehead. In manner and speech he was all directness and simplicity, speaking a rich, idiomatic Russian, with slow, gentle intonations. His big, brown eyes lighting suddenly under bushy brows, his humorous smile, gave

the impression of a frank and kindly personality.

IN THE CAUCASUS

In the Transcaspien region toward the end of May the Bolsheviki won some successes. It was stated by a correspondent on June 28 that new complications



MAP SHOWING AREA OF DENIKIN'S VICTORIES UP TO JUNE 10, 1919. LATER HE CAPTURED KHARKOFF AND TSARITSYN

had arisen in the Caucasus region, partly as a result of the allied note to Admiral Kolchak, and that new republics organized in North Caucasia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia had taken a stand against both the Bolsheviki and Admiral Kolchak. A declaration made jointly with Ukraine, White Russia, Esthonia, and Letvia read as follows:

The republics of Azerbaijan, Georgia, Letvia, North Caucasia, White Russia, Esthonia, and the Ukraine have organized and exist by the free will of the people. Constitutions are now being drafted.

The relations of these republics with neighboring States are being arranged and will be determined by their respective Constituent Assemblies, elected by universal suffrage.

Russia's decisions cannot affect the sovereign States we represent. The relations between us and Russia will be adjusted as between equal States. Allied correspondence with Admiral Kolchak is construed by us as a negation of our rights.

As sovereign, independent States, the above-mentioned republics pray of the Peace Conference that it recognize their political independence.

Charges of large money requisitions, forced army levies, and general arbitrary procedure were made by the Cau-

casus "republics" against both Kolchak and Denikin, and the complete autonomy of all the regions represented in the declaration was petitioned of the Peace Conference on the basis of the Fourteen Points.

THE KOLCHAK DEFEATS

Toward the end of May the retreat of Kolchak's forces in both the Kazan and Samara regions was reported. In the former his troops had retired forty miles before the Red Army, and they had also fallen back from Samara in the direction of Ufa.

The Siberian offensive had begun in March. In the north Kolchak's right wing pushed from Perm along the Viatka Railway in the hope of ultimately making contact with the British advancing from Archangel. But Kolchak's main armies were based on Ufa, and tried to reach the Volga along a broad front. This offensive carried him forward at least 150 miles. A third movement was directed against Orenburg, against which an army advanced south from Ufa, and a Cossack force east of Omsk. By the beginning of May, however, the tide had begun to turn. The Bolsheviks, realizing that it was vital for them to save the Volga Valley, concentrated against Kolchak's Ufa front, which broke at once. The Kolchak forces fell back toward Ufa, and of necessity abandoned the Orenburg expedition.

On June 9 Kolchak's enemies announced that they had captured the key-point, Ufa; this communiqué continued as follows:

The fighting around Ufa lasted three days and was of the most sanguinary nature. The opposing troops often fought body to body. The severity of the fighting shows the importance Kolchak attached to retaining Ufa.

On June 26 it was stated from Omsk that the retirement of the Siberian forces on the Ufa front had been virtually stopped, and new offensives had met with success. On July 2 the Bolsheviks, however, announced the capture of Perm. This left the Kolchak forces only one important base west of the Urals, Ekaterinburg, 100 miles southeast of Perm. On July 16 a Russian wireless announced

that this city had also fallen on July 14. With the capture of this city the Kolchak Government lost its last important base of supplies north of the Trans-Siberian Railway. Another success won by the Lenin forces was the capture of the Lena



MAP SHOWING KOLCHAK'S RETREAT UP TO JUNE 10, 1919. LATER HE LOST GLAZOFF, PERM, AND EKATERINBURG

goldfields in Eastern Siberia, seized by an army of from 40,000 to 50,000 men under Muraviev.

OTHER EVENTS IN SIBERIA

The first Americans killed in Siberia fell in a battle with the Bolsheviks 100 miles north of Vladivostok on June 12 and June 13. Two soldiers were killed and four wounded. Transportation was demoralized between Nikolsk and Khara-bovsk, where railroad wrecks were frequent. The Bolsheviks were stopping trains and firing on the cars. Civilians were killed in these attacks, and women and children wounded. The small American force was experiencing difficulties in its work of protecting the railway, upon which the Bolsheviks were able to dash at unprotected spots, remove the rails, cut the telegraph lines, and make their escape. On June 30 the War Department at Washington received news of fifty casualties in Siberia, of whom twenty represented deaths.

On June 16 it was stated that the work of the Americans, British, French, and Japanese on the railways in Siberia had

made such progress that the repair of the permanent way was almost complete; rolling stock and locomotives from Japan and the United States were constantly arriving. Around July 1 the Japanese were sending reinforcements to the Vladivostok region, where the Bolsheviks had been active. The discontent of the 60,000 or 70,000 Czech soldiers in Siberia and the question of their transportation home had become a pressing problem for the Entente by the end of June.

THE OMSK GOVERNMENT

In an article of considerable length, published on June 29, C. A. Kovalsky, a delegate of the Siberian Co-operative Societies in the United States, bore testimony to the relative prosperity of Siberia under the Omsk régime, as contrasted with the Soviet administration. Food conditions were immeasurably better, the press was untrammelled, free universities were functioning in the principal cities, and the Government, instead of being confined to narrow party lines, was representative of all parties. The existence of Bolshevism in Siberia was frankly admitted by Mr. Kovalsky; it had, he explained, two sources, the Extreme Right and the Extreme Left. The disaffection of the Left was fostered by the incessant Soviet propaganda; the Right was well organized, but utterly discredited by Kolchak and his anti-reactionary supporters. The Kolchak régime, on the other hand, besides being supported by its armies in the field, was also supported by the great membership of Siberian and Ural Co-operative Societies and by the Siberian Zemstvos and municipal self-governments.

The adherence of the Cossack leader Denikin to the supreme authority of Admiral Kolchak was embodied in a message sent by Denikin early in July. In his telegram of reply the Siberian leader said:

I am deeply touched by the patriotic decision dictated by your high ideals of duty to the country. In the period of the disintegrating, general depression, and pessimism you were one of the first to raise the standard of a united, resurrected Russia. By your decision at the present moment you give the country another example of a soldier and a citizen

who considers above all the happiness of his country and her historical future.

God help you in your service to Russia!

Roland S. Morris, American Ambassador to Japan, commissioned to investigate and report on conditions under the Omsk Government, left Tokio for Siberia on July 7, accompanied by General Graves, commander of the American forces in Siberia. The future attitude of the allied Governments toward the Kolchak régime, it was stated, would depend largely on the report of this mission.

IN SOVIET RUSSIA

Protests against Lenin's dictatorship in Petrograd and elsewhere were made by Maxim Gorky, a former supporter of the Bolsheviks, in his Petrograd newspaper, and the dire effects of the Bolshevik régime were vividly depicted by his pen. Petrograd was described as a city of death, and the wiping out of the intellectuals by famine was passionately protested against. Gorky also denounced the suppression of newspapers. In this connection Gorky said:

To intimidate men who do not wish to take part in the mad dance of Mr. Trotzky on the ruins of Russia with threats of pogroms and terror is a shame and a crime.

Confirmation of these conditions came on July 10, when the State Department at Washington announced the receipt of advices that 18,000 persons had been seized and held as hostages during a three weeks' period elapsing shortly before. Foreigners, it was learned, were to be held for exchange of Bolsheviks abroad, and Russians for exchange against Bolsheviks in the White Russia forces. The State Department's informant was Baron Boris Nolde, who had escaped from Petrograd and made his way to Stockholm. The report said further that almost all classes had turned against the Bolshevik régime because their condition had become worse instead of better, but that they were unarmed and unable to resist the violent methods used by the Bolshevik leaders. Persons who were arrested at the embassies and legations in Petrograd, as well as some of the personnel of the

Danish organization of the Red Cross, were among these hostages. Unlimited power had been given to a man named Peters, a former head of the Moscow commission to combat the Russian revolution, and he was in complete charge of the internal defenses of Petrograd.

From Russian sources, including the *Pravda*, a newspaper published at Petrograd, the department was advised that Soviet Russia was having a fuel famine. Peters, in charge of internal defenses of Petrograd, had announced his seizure of a large amount of arms and ammunition taken from counter-revolutionists. Everybody found having arms without authority was ordered to be shot, along with those in charge of the buildings where the arms were found. The public telephone service in Petrograd had been ordered closed.

Further confirmation of a striking nature was given by John A. Embry, American Consul at Omsk, when he returned to the United States early in July, and described the reign of terror in the Siberian regions recaptured by Admiral Kolchak.

Meanwhile, Bolshevik propaganda went on. On June 3 it was reported from Helsingfors that a small steamer captured in the Gulf of Finland had been loaded down with Bolshevik propaganda. A Moscow wireless to the Emir of Afghanistan June 11 offered him the support of the Soviet Government in his revolt against British rule.

RAID ON SOVIET EMBASSY

On June 13 the offices of the Russian Bolshevik "Embassy" in New York were raided, its books and papers requisitioned and removed, and Martens and his aids subpoenaed to appear before the Lusk Investigating Committee into Bolshevism. Martens and A. A. Heller, Director of the Commercial Department of the Soviet Bureau, were summoned and interrogated. After a secret hearing Chairman Lusk said that the questioning had been carried far enough to draw admissions from both that the Russian Soviet Mission was carrying on in New York State propaganda for the purpose of justifying the Soviet form of government established in Russia. Further

questioning elicited the fact that Martens was a German subject, and demonstrated that Martens was in touch with the I. W. W., which aimed to overthrow the United States Government and establish a Soviet republic in its place. Among the papers found in the embassy was a letter written by Lenin in January addressed to workers, which made a bitter attack upon the Allies. The investigation continued, but Martens was not arrested, and returned to his embassy.

An official protest from the Soviet Government at Moscow, with the text of the reply made by the United States Government, was made public in Washington on July 1. The Soviet document was as follows:

The Commissariat for Foreign Affairs has learned with indignation of the arrest of Mr. Martens, its representative in New York. The Commissariat wishes to point out that all the diplomatic and Consular representatives of the American Government in Russia up to the departure in September last have been treated by the Soviet authorities with the utmost courtesy in spite of the fact that, since June of last year, the American Government openly sided with all the Russian and foreign dark forces ranged against the workers and peasants of Russia, with the sole object of crushing the great revolution and restoring the Czarist and bureaucratic capitalist rule.

Even after American troops had landed on Russian territory and actually partaken in military operations against the Russian laboring people, not a single American citizen has been molested in Russia. Moreover, American officials and journalists have been allowed admittance into Russia, and accorded every courtesy and all possible facilities and privileges. The arrest of Mr. Martens is the more surprising and unjustified as he acted openly as the representative of Soviet Russia without calling forth any objection or protestation on the part of the American Government.

The Russian Government fears that his arrest may not be an isolated case, but form part of a general persecution of Russian citizens loyal to their people's Government, and demands the cessation of such persecutions and the immediate release of Mr. Martens.

The Soviet Government expects to be accordingly informed at an early date, and not to be compelled reluctantly to take reprisals against American citizens to be found on Russian territory.

PEOPLE'S COMMISSARY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS TCHITCHERIN.

THE AMERICAN REPLY

In reply to this message Acting Secretary Phillips on July 1 cabled these instructions to the American Legation at Stockholm:

Please inform proper Swedish authorities at once as follows:

The statement purporting to emanate from Moscow is wholly untrue. Mr. Martens has not been arrested, nor does this Government contemplate any action against law-abiding Russian citizens in this country. It is understood that Mr. Martens claims official status as the representative of a régime at Moscow which the United States has not recognized as a Government. At the same time, he is a German citizen, having voluntarily so declared himself when he entered this country in 1916.

This Government has not forgotten the unwarrantable arrest and detention for months of Consul Tredwell, and the illegal and unjustifiable imprisonment under severe hardships of Vice Consuls Durri and Leonard, contrary to the fundamental practice of civilized nations. Nor has it forgotten that an American citizen, Kalamatiano, has been held in prison at Moscow for months under sentence of death, without proper trial and without opportunity for his Government to assist him.

The Government of the United States now views with grave concern the reported threat of the authorities at Moscow to take further illegal measures in the form of reprisals against American citizens in Russia.

Such a course, if adopted, would be certain to arouse in the United States an overwhelming public sentiment of indignation against the authorities at Moscow responsible for such acts.

Poland's Transition Troubles

Dissatisfaction With the Peace Terms, Fighting on the German Frontier, and Serious Famine Conditions

[FOR TEXT OF POLISH TREATY SEE PAGE 278]

EVENTS in Poland during May and June indicated that the Poles were far from being satisfied with the terms of the Peace Treaty affecting Poland, or with the special Polish treaty guaranteeing protection to national minorities within the new Polish State, especially to the Jews. The Poles, first of all, were dissatisfied at what they considered the loss of the City of Danzig, made an autonomous commune by the treaty terms; they were also displeased by the decision to hold a plebiscite in Polish Silesia, forcibly colonized by the Germans, and to return to Germany the railway between Schneidemühl and Keonitz, and the small strip on the Pomeranian Coast which had been given to Poland. By the terms of the Polish treaty, its opponents declared, the Jews were aided to set up a State within a State, and the sovereignty of the Polish State would thus be infringed.

The Diet on May 26 reviewed these points and demanded also the return of Polish Teschen, in Silesia, (a claim which was referred to a Polish and Czech com-

mission toward the end of June.) It declared formally at the same time that there would be no forcible annexation of Lithuania, whose inhabitants would be afforded an opportunity to decide as to their own disposition. It also seized the opportunity to express its confidence in M. Paderewski, who on May 13 had tendered his resignation.

Concerning the question of the Polish treaty, the Diet on June 11 passed a resolution which denied that Poland had ever countenanced religious persecution, and which declared that the rights of religious minorities would continue to be respected. Special objection was made to Article 93 of the German treaty, which placed Poland under international engagements concerning the just claims of minorities; these measures were declared to be a restriction on the sovereign rights of the Polish Republic and an indication of an unmerited lack of confidence on the part of the allied powers.

Meanwhile Poland took steps to protect her western frontiers against any

sudden assaults. On June 13 Herr Erzberger wrote to General Dupont, Chief of the French Military Mission in Berlin, stating that Poland was in a state of war with Germany, and that two divisions of the repatriated army of General Haller were being distributed along the entire front. "These Polish measures," the letter continued, "are opposed to the terms of the armistice and the promises of Marshal Foch." Herr Erzberger demanded immediate redress of these alleged wrongs, intimating that if this were not obtained the German Government would be obliged to suspend the transport of the Haller divisions still upon the way through Germany.

The following day came news that eight trainloads of General Haller's army had been held up for three days by order of the German Government, and were suffering from a shortage of food. On June 16, in response to a question from General Nudant, Chairman of the Interallied Armistice Commission at Spa, the German Government denied any official action of its own, and stated that the local German commanders on the German-Polish line of demarkation had acted on their own initiative. It reiterated its intention to give prior consideration to the transport of General Haller's men. Another dispatch from Berlin by wireless extended the time of such transportation across Germany from June 15 to July 1.

On June 27 German military aggression on the Western Polish boundary was causing great uneasiness in Peace Conference circles, and Paderewski, the Polish Premier, was making efforts to obtain ammunition from the Allies before the Germans cut the principal railways. Heavy artillery attacks on Czechenstochowa from the south and west had threatened to cut railway communication with Warsaw, Cracow, and the Teschen coal fields. The Germans had also advanced some fifty miles southeast of Posen, and fighting was going on at other points.

These hostile movements and the mutual distrust upon both the German and the Polish side were considered ominous in military circles. On June 30 the German Armistice Commission sent a note

to General Dupont in London, calling attention to the fact that the Poles were interning all Germans over 17 years of age, including women, at special internment camps. The Prussian Government had sent an official note threatening reprisals.

GERMANS OFFER SOLUTION

No violent explosion of these hostile forces, however, occurred, and the Germans themselves, on July 9, made conciliatory overtures through Baron von Lersner, head of the German peace delegation, offering on behalf of the German Government the formation of a joint commission of Germans and Poles to sit in Berlin to settle questions arising out of the transfer of territories detached from Germany. Word was also received in conference circles of a project for the organization of a republic in the eastern territories of Germany which the Peace Treaty assigned to Poland. After active propaganda in these territories the project had advanced so far that a Provisional President was selected in the person of Adolf von Batocki, the former Food Minister. This solution was considered preferable to the dominion of Poland.

That the Allies intended to take adequate measures to insure the speedy execution of the Polish treaty terms, alike territorial and political, was stated semi-officially in Paris on July 4. On that day Premier Clemenceau conferred with Captain André Tardieu, President of a special commission created for this purpose.

ALLIED MISSION SENT

An active step in this direction was the appointment of a mission to visit Poland. This mission, composed of Henry Morgenthau, General Edgar Jadwin, and Homer Johnson, was scheduled to leave Paris for Poland on July 10. The object was not merely to investigate racial disturbances and the reported killing of Jews, but also to attempt to reconcile the differences and allay the turmoil in accordance with the principles of the League of Nations.

In Galicia for many weeks the Poles had been at war with the Ukrainians.

On June 17 Polish troops in East Galicia captured several thousand prisoners and a large amount of war material, and established contact with Polish troops which had marched from Odessa. These and further successes gained toward the end of June along the whole Galician-Volhynian front were won with the co-operation of General Haller's troops, formal permission to use which on this front was granted by the Allied Council on June 27. As the result of the Volhynian victories the enemy suffered severe casualties; 3,000 prisoners, thirty machine guns, and huge stores were captured; many important places were occupied, and the Lemberg-Stanislau railway line fell again into Polish hands.

UKRAINIAN PROTESTS

William J. Kearns, counsel for the Ukrainian National Committee of the United States, on July 9 sent a memorial to President Wilson and Mr. House protesting against alleged atrocities committed by the Poles against the Ukrainians. The memorial also protested against the ratification of any treaty giving the Poles territorial control of East Galicia. This memorial read in part as follows:

The Ukrainian National Committee of the United States directs your attention to the outrages which, according to well-authenticated reports, have recently been committed in East Galicia by the Polish Army under command of General Haller, which army is composed in part of American citizens of Polish descent, and which, under the pretext of restoring order in East Galicia, has perpetrated crimes and atrocities against the Ukrainian civil inhabitants and noncombatant population.

According to Mr. Kearns, 75 per cent. of the population of Galicia is Ukrainian, 15 to 20 per cent. Jews, and the remainder Poles.

M. Kurdylovski, a special envoy of Admiral Kolchak, arrived in Warsaw early in June charged with an important mission. It was stated at the time that M. Kurdylovski had been sent as liaison agent between the Ukraine and Siberia. According to Kolchak's plan, a common anti-Bolshevist front was to be organized, in which project the co-operation of the Polish troops was important. After

discovering that all relations were broken off between the Ukraine and Poland, M. Kurdylovski succeeded in persuading Petliura that the Polish Ukrainian conflict must be resolved. Armed with Kolchak's and Petliura's approval, the Siberian envoy went to Warsaw to complete the necessary steps to fulfill the original project.

ANTI-JEWISH AGITATION

Protests against atrocities alleged to have been committed by General Haller's troops were not confined to the Ukrainians. On June 10 the Jewish members of the Polish Diet sent an open letter of protest to Premier Paderewski against anti-Semitic agitation in Poland, which they asserted was widespread and serious in its consequences. Specific charges in this letter were made against the troops of General Haller.

General Haller, as Commander in Chief of the Polish forces, issued the following special proclamation:

Soldiers, I have been told by the Jewish population of this country that they have been treated by Polish soldiers in a way which is in keeping neither with the honor nor the greatness of the Polish Army; that they have been beaten, abused, and injured; that their property is being destroyed.

Such demeanor is unworthy of Polish soldiers, who are servants of a holy cause. All those guilty of persecuting any portion of the population will be severely punished and court-martialed by my orders.

The Polish soldier is bound to distinguish himself by his good behavior, so as to leave behind in the hearts of all citizens of the Polish State, independent of nationality or creed, an idea of the reconstruction of their country.

To be read by all detachments now under my command. HALLER.

The Polish Diet, after a debate on excesses committed against the Jews, adopted unanimously on June 20 a motion expressing the conviction that such excesses, instead of ending the disastrous economic situation in Poland after five years of war, would increase the general distress. The resolution advised the population to make every effort to ward off the provocations of Poland's enemies, who, it was said, were trying to take advantage of her misfortunes to compromise the Government. The Govern-

ment, however, it continued, was ready to take energetic measures against those who encouraged the population to commit offenses against the Jews. If Poland checked firmly all disorders provoked by religious differences, the resolution said, all citizens of whatever religion or nationality would be assured of safety and equality.

LITHUANIANS DISPLEASED

A meeting held in New York on June 23, at which 300,000 members of Lithuanian societies in three States were represented, sharply criticised the utterances of the Polish Government, in especial of Premier Paderewski, in regard to Lithuania, and declared there was no intention on the part of the Premier to approve the independence of Lithuania, a country whose strategical position was such as to cause her to be coveted by various nations, and especially by Poland. Incorporated in the resolution passed at this meeting was a specific protest against the Polish invasion of the Lithuanian territory, especially Vilna, the capital, "by Poles, Bolsheviki, or any other foreign aggressors." Lithuania herself made a formal protest to the Peace Conference at the time Vilna was occupied by the Poles, and sharp disputes arose between the two conflicting

racess over this question; the Poles explained that their action was merely strategic, to enable them to cope more advantageously with the Bolshevik menace.

FOOD SCARCITY

It was learned early in June that the eastern confines of the Polish Republic presented a state of misery and starvation. Inquests on many victims of death from hunger revealed in the stomach the presence of sand and wood. In many communities half the population had perished, while in others a large percentage were suffering from hunger typhus. This report of famine conditions was confirmed and supplemented by reports brought by Jacob Billkopf, who returned early in July from Poland, where he had gone as personal investigator of Felix M. Warburg and other members of the American Jewish Relief Committees. His report especially concerned the Jews, but covered general observations of conditions in Warsaw, Lemberg, Cracow, Vilna, and a large number of smaller communities.

K. Buszcynski, the first envoy to be sent to the United States by the new Polish Republic, was given a reception in New York on June 23 by the Economic and Social Union of Polish Workingmen and Farmers in America.

Hungary and the Entente

Bela Kun's Defiant Attitude

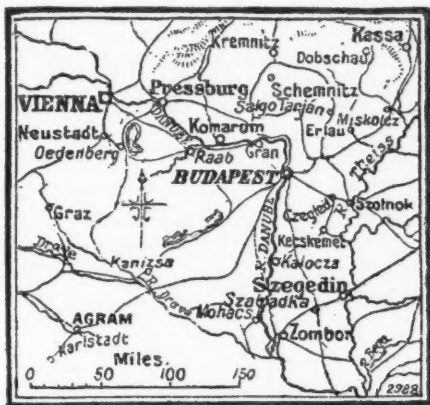
[PERIOD ENDED JULY 15, 1919]

THE events in Hungary during June and July accentuated the defiant attitude assumed by the Government of Bela Kun regarding fulfillment of the conditions of the armistice. The answer to the first note of the Allies (sent June 9) demanding the cessation of all Magyar attacks upon the Czechs was considered unsatisfactory, as it threw all the blame for Hungary's invasion of Slovakia upon the Czechs, made cessation of hostilities provisional on further negotiations, and proposed Vienna as a

place for arbitration. In answer to the second ultimatum of the allied powers Bela Kun ostensibly agreed to withdraw his troops from Slovakia, but his real intention became manifest in the manner of withdrawal, which left a hastily organized Soviet republic established in the evacuated districts, defended by Red forces enrolled under the Czech banner. Investigation of the military power of Bela Kun convinced the Supreme Council on July 9 that at least 200,000 men would be required to force Hungary to fulfill

the obligations which she had entered into.

Meanwhile Bela Kun, while frankly admitting that the greater part of Hungary was passive, asserted that the Soviet power would be vigorously maintained, and warned the allied powers to keep their hands off. His whole attitude



MAP SHOWING HUNGARIAN TERRITORY SOUTH OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA, COVERING AREA OF CONFLICT

was such that the Entente realized that no agreement with him could be reached, that the blockade must be kept in force, and that only compulsion would prove effective. The ruthlessness of his methods of maintaining his power was seen in the drastic measures adopted in the quelling of a counter-revolution that broke out in Budapest, in which hundreds of agitators were mercilessly executed. Conditions continued bad in Budapest, but it was said that owing to his victories in the fertile districts of Slovakia and elsewhere the food and fuel distress of Hungary was somewhat relieved. A new development was the beginning of strained relations with Austria, due mainly to the active propaganda of the Magyar Legation in Vienna on behalf of communism.

THE MAGYAR OFFENSIVE

It was stated early in June that the Hungarian offensive against Czechoslovakia was nowhere an isolated incident, but a part of a definite design against the new order in Europe, Red and White Guards fighting side by side against the Czechs and sinking internal differences

for the sake of a common foreign policy under former Hapsburg Generals. The attack was skillfully planned, and at the psychological moment. Profiting by the restraining order from the Peace Conference, which held up the Rumanian advance across the Theiss River and immobilized General Franchet d'Esperey and the Franco-Yugoslav Army in South Hungary, Bela Kun formed a vigorous strategic plan backed by stern discipline and plentiful munitions partly supplied from an outside source through German Austria.

The offensive followed three main directions, with a northeasterly trend, indicating an intention to establish connections with Galicia and Southern Russia. Its main results were described last month. On June 9, after the main successes had been won, the allied and associated powers sent an ultimatum to Bela Kun, demanding instant cessation of hostilities. The text of Kun's reply to this communication, which has now become available, may be summarized in part as follows:

The Hungarian Soviet Republic did not attack the Czechoslovak Republic until the Czechoslovaks, in contravention of the Military Convention of Nov. 13, compelled the Soviets to take up arms. The attacks of the Czechoslovaks, as well as those of Yugoslavia and Rumania, were stopped only by the Hungarian counteroffensive. The Hungarian Government was ready to cease hostilities, and proposed the States concerned should send delegates to Vienna, and that a commission be appointed to effect a settlement.

Even this provisional acceptance of Bela Kun aroused surprise, in view of the fact that Budapest was beflagged in honor of the capture of Kaschau, and jublations had been held in the streets, including the playing of "The Marseillaise" by massed bands and a special distribution of food to the proletariat and the school children. Meanwhile, the fighting continued. The allied ultimatum had set June 25 as the time limit for evacuation of Slovakia, and the cessation of all hostilities. About June 19 dispatches indicated that the Hungarian aggression had ceased, and that the evacuation would be completed within four days. The manner in which the evacuation was carried out was shown by Vienna advices

of July 3. Kun had withdrawn some troops, but had established a Soviet republic in the evacuated territory, leaving a part of the Red Army to defend this republic under the Czech banner, while the bulk of the Hungarian Red Army took up operations against the Rumanians on the Theiss. On July 10 the fighting in this region still continued.

CRISIS WITH AUSTRIA

A critical situation arose between the Hungarian and the Austrian Governments about July 10, when Dr. Otto Bauer, the Austrian Foreign Minister, demanded the recall from Vienna of the Hungarian Minister Czobel. In reply Bela Kun demanded that the campaign against the Hungarian Legation at Vienna be stopped. Subsequently came reports that detachments of Hungarian Bolsheviks were entering lower Austria, and that nearly 5,000 Magyars were concentrated in the region of Saenburg and Neustedler Lake.

A counter-revolutionary movement in Hungary, during which a monitor on the Danube was seized by the anti-Governmental forces, began on June 24 and was quelled within two days. Officers took possession of the monitor and used the vessel's guns for bombarding the Soviet headquarters, while numbers of their supporters on the banks of the river cheered. A number of persons were wounded by rifle and revolver firing. After the revolt was put down, Bela Kun stated that 300 White Guardsmen met death. Some of the leaders escaped into Serbia. The revolutionary tribunals were busy judging those who participated. As a part of the reprisal measures, forty youths of the Budapest Military Academy and three officers were executed. Immense gallows were erected on Kosuth Street for the hangings. Bela Kun stated that he had signed death warrants for all implicated. The only result of the revolt, he declared, was to increase the strength of the extremist faction, and to prove that the Soviet Republic of Hungary was a tower of strength. In the course of the outbreak Bela Kun himself was fired at twice by a workman, but escaped uninjured.

Toward the end of June a Soviet congress was held in the Parliament Building in Budapest. At this meeting all the chief men of the Bela Kun Government were present and delivered addresses. In a long speech the Communist leader himself, looking haggard and ill from three months' nervous strain, attacked the capitalistic Governments, defended the offensive against the Czechs, the Rumanians and Hungary's other enemies, but advised compliance with the allied powers' demands. Pogany, in a forceful and even violent speech, took the opposite point of view, and argued against yielding to the Allies, which, he declared, would mean relinquishing all the fruits of victory. At about the same time Bela Kun proposed a joint meeting of representatives of all the States involved in hostilities with Hungary in order to put an end to the terrible bloodshed.

ALLIES AGAINST COMPROMISE

The Council of Five on July 5 reached the conclusion that it was impossible to make peace with Bela Kun's Government. Maintenance of the blockade was still considered necessary, though its effects had been mitigated by the Hungarian victories. At a further meeting, held two days later, Herbert Hoover stated that the revictualing of Poland, Czechoslovakia, the Russian provinces, and Rumania was crippled by Bela Kun's refusal to permit communication through Budapest, whence all the railway lines radiate. Under Clemenceau's urging, the council requested its military advisers to investigate Bela Kun's military strength, and the number of allied troops which could be quickly thrown against him. Small French forces were stationed near Vienna, and Serbian and Rumanian troops to the southward. The Allied Military Intelligence Bureau had reported that Bela Kun's strength was increasing. He had artillery, but poor means of communication; his depleted food supplies, however, had been replenished by his victories and by supplies stolen from one of Mr. Hoover's supply trains, which he had seized. By cutting off the communications of the Czechoslovaks, the use of the latter as a fighting unit against him was made difficult. There

were also reasons why the use of Rumanian troops was undesirable. Similar reasons militated against the use of Italian forces. All in all, the Hungarian

situation represented a problem of the greatest difficulty, but there were evidences that the allied and associated powers had determined to solve it.

Czechoslovakia Invaded by Hungarians

Cabinet Crisis in Prague

[PERIOD ENDED JULY 15, 1919]

THE mystery surrounding the serious defeats inflicted on the Czechs, not only in Hungary, but in Slovakia, which the Magyars invaded, and where they did a great amount of damage estimated in money values, was somewhat clarified by subsequent advices from correspondents on the ground. The Czech reverses, it appeared, were primarily due to the want of a combined policy and concerted action on the part of the Entente, and secondarily to the following factors: the disinclination of certain Czech legionaries, infected by Bolshevik propaganda, to fight against the Communists; various Nationalist uprisings in Slovakia against the Prague administration, and the undue extension of the front (including German Bohemia) of the Czech troops in a country of poor communications against numerically superior Communist forces.

The Hungarian campaign in Slovakia meanwhile continued. The Czechs, stung by their defeats, mobilized and dispatched troops to the relief of the invaded province. They found themselves, however, extremely short of ammunition, and telegrams sent from Prague on June 5 stated that the Minister of War, M. Klofac, was being severely taken to task on this account. Pending the restoration of the output of the Skoda works the Czechs sent a message to the Austrian Government demanding the quota of war material then in the hands of the German Austrians. Having received a refusal, the Czechs threatened to stop the supply of coal for Vienna unless the 60,000 shells involved were yielded by Austria; all indications at the time pointed to the granting of the Czech request.

By the end of the first week in June

the Czechoslovak front had been pierced at various points, the Czech forces were retreating northward and losing important towns, and over one-third of Slovakia was in Magyar hands. Kaschau, (Kassa,) 133 miles northeast of Budapest, had been evacuated by the Czechs owing to an uprising organized by armed Hungarians. Pressburg, thirty-four miles southeast of Vienna, was also reported to have fallen. Great weakness of the Czech forces was caused by persistent Magyar propaganda behind the Czech lines. The Czech Army had been put under the leadership of the French Generals, Pelle, Mitterhausen, and Hennocque. By June 11 the Czechs had succeeded in recovering certain portions of the ground lost. Meanwhile the Hungarians remained in possession of rich mineral and industrial regions, and the most important coal fields, considered necessary for Hungary's national existence.

President Masaryk had sent an appeal to the Peace Conference for assistance. On June 10 the Council of Four was engaged in discussion of the boundary questions involved. The allied powers on June 9 sent an ultimatum to the Government of Bela Kun demanding immediate cessation of hostilities against the Czechs, under penalty of drastic measures. Bela Kun's reply was reported "unsatisfactory." On June 13 the Hungarians were still advancing against the Czechs. Almost a week later a Budapest wireless asserted that the Hungarian Soviet troops had ceased operations against the Czechoslovaks, but that the latter were attacking along the whole front. On July 13 the allied powers sent another ultimatum to Bela Kun

threatening immediate action unless the terms of the armistice were observed. Up to the time this issue of *CURRENT HISTORY* went to press no reply had been received.

In addition to its military difficulties the young republic was confronted with internal troubles of a political nature. A foreshadowing of the subsequent fall of the Kramarcz Cabinet was made as early as May 29. The Opposition centred about the allegedly illegitimate tenure of office of the Kramarcz Cabinet, which was appointed during the absence of President Masaryk in America. One of the reasons of opposition to this Cabinet was the attitude taken by M. Kramarcz in the matter of expropriation of large landed estates in Czechoslovakia. President Masaryk had thrown the weight of his influence on the side of those who favored a generous measure of compensation to the expropriated landowners; the Premier, however, had sent a letter to the *Narodni Listy* in favor of the maintenance of large estates. Unlike the President, the Premier had long been identified with the Czech Conservatives, and his intervention on behalf of the great landowners, it was stated, had excited resentment among the parties of the Left. The settlement of the project was to be held in abeyance until the return of M. Kramarcz from the Peace Conference at Paris. The political differences engendered, however, became more and more acute. Support of the Cabinet was diminishing in the towns, the Agrarians and Socialists were increasing their pressure on the Government, and the disturbed economic conditions made the demand for land nationalization more urgent. Finally, on July 5, the Kramarcz Cabinet fell, and a new Ministry was formed consisting only of Social Democrats and Agrarian Socialists. This Cabinet was headed by the Socialist Vlastimil Tusar as Prime Minister. Both Kramarcz and Benes, who were delegates to the Peace Conference, were to resign. One item on the program of the new régime was the establishment of better relations with Austria.

Vigorous opposition was aroused in Czechoslovakia by the reported intention of the Peace Conference to levy a pro rata indemnity payment on the new republic. A plea to this effect was embodied by Premier Renner when speaking before the allied and associated powers at St. Germain, where the Austrian peace treaty was delivered. M. Rasin, the Czechoslovak Minister of Finance, in an address delivered before the National Democratic Party, energetically opposed the payment of any war indemnity. The whole Czech press supported him in this attitude. The ground taken was that the Czechs were forced to participate in the European war; that Czech property and material in Austrian and Hungarian territory amounted to many millions, and that the Magyars had pillaged the territory of Slovakia, causing enormous damage, for which the Czechs themselves demanded reparation. The country, it was said, was heavily laden with debts, there was a large deficit, and insistence on payment of a large war indemnity meant ruin and starvation for the struggling young republic.

In matters of external policy, a frontier union with Yugoslavia was demanded early in June by manifesto issued by all the large unions and societies, alike learned, political, economic, and financial, of the Czechoslovak Republic. The main reason adduced was the prevention of Germany from using Austria and Hungary as a territorial base for aggression against the small States situated along this line.

A rapprochement between Czechoslovakia and Poland was also indicated by the visit of Premier Paderewski to Prague toward the end of May, and his conferences with President Masaryk regarding a settlement of the dispute between the two nations over the disposition of the Teschen coal mines. The outcome of this visit was the referring of the whole dispute to a mixed commission. At one time the trouble in Teschen had resulted in hostile collisions, causing considerable bloodshed.

Franco-American-Anglo Alliance

Text of the Treaty to Protect France From Unprovoked Attack by Germany

TREATIES between the United States and France and between France and Great Britain, by the terms of which the two powers will come immediately to the aid of France if any unprovoked act of aggression is made against her by Germany, were concluded at Versailles on June 28, 1919, being signed at the same time as the German treaty, and made public July 2. It was provided that the treaties should be submitted to the Council of the League of Nations, which would decide whether to recognize them as engagements in conformity with the League covenant; it was also provided that the treaty should be submitted to the United States Senate and the French Parliament for approval.

TEXT OF THE TREATY

The text of the Franco-American pact is as follows:

Considering that the United States of America and the Government of the French Republic are equally animated by a desire to maintain the peace of the world, so happily restored by the treaty signed at Versailles on June 28, which put an end to the war begun by the aggression of the German Empire and terminated by the defeat of that power, and

Considering that the United States of America and the Government of the French Republic, fully convinced that an unprovoked aggression directed by Germany against France would not only violate at the same time the letter and spirit of the Versailles Treaty, to which the United States and France are parties, thus exposing France anew to the intolerable burden of unprovoked war, but that such aggression on the act reputed by the Treaty of Versailles as being against all the powers signatory to the treaty and calculated to trouble the peace of the world, involving inevitably and directly the States of Europe and indirectly the entire world, as experience has amply and unhappily demonstrated, and

Considering that the United States of America and the Government of the French Republic apprehend that the stipulations concerning the left bank of the Rhine cannot assure immediately to France, on the one hand, and to the United States, on the other,

as signatory powers to the Treaty of Versailles, appropriate security and protection;

Consequently, the United States of America and the Government of the French Republic, having decided to conclude a treaty to realize these necessary ends, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, and Robert Lansing, Secretary of State, specially authorized to that end by the President of the United States of America, and Georges Clemenceau, President of the Council of Ministers and Minister of War, and Stephen Pichon, Minister of Foreign Affairs, specially authorized to that end by Raymond Poincaré, President of the French Republic, have agreed upon the following:

ARTICLE 1.—*The following stipulations concerning the left bank of the Rhine are contained in the Peace Treaty signed with Germany at Versailles, June 28, 1919, by the United States of America, by the Government of the French Republic, and by the British Empire, among other powers:*

Article 42.—Germany is forbidden to maintain or construct any fortifications either on the left bank of the Rhine or on the right bank to the west of a line drawn fifty kilometers to the east of the Rhine.

Article 43.—In the area defined above the maintenance and the assembly of armed forces, either permanently or temporarily, and military manoeuvres of any kind, as well as the upkeep of all permanent works for mobilization, are in the same way forbidden.

Article 44.—In case Germany violates in any manner whatever the provisions of Articles 42 and 43 she shall be regarded as committing a hostile act against the powers signatory of the present treaty and as calculated to disturb the peace of the world.

In case these stipulations should not assure immediately to France appropriate security and protection, the United States of America shall be bound to come immediately to her aid in case of any unprovoked act of aggression directed against her by Germany.

ARTICLE 2.—*The present treaty, couched in terms analogous to those of a treaty concluded on the same date and to the same end between Great Britain and the French Republic, a copy of which is hereto annexed, will not enter into force until the moment when the latter is ratified.*

ARTICLE 3.—*The present treaty must be submitted to the Council of the Society of Nations and must be recognized by the coun-*

cil, deciding if occasion arise by majority, as an engagement in conformity with the covenant of the society. It will remain in force until, upon demand of one of the parties to the treaty, the council deciding if occasion arise by a majority, finds that the society itself assures sufficient protection.

ARTICLE 4.—The present treaty shall before ratification be submitted to the Chambers of the French Parliament for approval and it shall be submitted to the Senate of the United States of America at the same time as the treaty of Versailles shall be submitted for assent to ratification. Ratifications shall be exchanged at the time of deposit in Paris of the ratifications of the Treaty of Versailles, or as soon afterward as possible.

Then follow the signatures of M. Clemenceau, M. Pichon, Mr. Wilson, and Mr. Lansing.

THE ENGLISH AGREEMENT

The agreement between England and France, the text of which was also given out, corresponds with that between the United States and France, with an additional provision that the treaty imposes no obligation upon any of the dominions of the British Empire unless and until it be approved by the Parliament of each dominion interested. This agreement is signed by M. Clemenceau, M. Pichon, David Lloyd George, British Premier, and A. J. Balfour, British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

"The guarantee pact," as the Parisian press calls the treaty between the United States and France, was received with general satisfaction by the French people. All newspapers, however, pointed out that according to the text of the instrument America goes further than England. By Article 1 of the American-French treaty, "the United States of America will be bound to come to the aid of France immediately," while Article 1 of the Anglo-French agreement only says: "England consents to come," &c.

SOME CRITICISMS

The publication of the treaty called forth mixed comments in the various countries. In Italy there was undisguised resentment because that country was not included; the trend of the criticism was that Italy was ignored and exposed to aggression without any ally upon which to depend. The declaration was made in some influential quarters that its effect would be to compel Italy to seek alliances with Germany and Russia.

In England there was no pronounced opposition.

In the United States the opponents of the League of Nations covenant affirmed that the necessity for the treaty indicated a conviction on the part of the Governments that the League of Nations would prove ineffective. Another objection expressed by Senators was that the treaty, in providing that it must be submitted to the League of Nations for approval, gave the League powers that had been conferred by the Constitution on the United States Senate. It was also contended that the right given the Council of the League to determine when the treaty should cease to be effective was likewise in contradiction of the Senate's constitutional privileges. Article 3 provides that the treaty shall continue in force until on application of one of the parties to it, the council, acting if need be by a majority, agrees that the League itself affords sufficient protection. This, it was argued, conferred upon the League Council the right to determine when the treaty to which the United States is a party shall become void.

President Wilson in addressing the Senate on July 10 on the German treaty announced that he would formally present the French pact at a later date.



The Polish Treaty

Covenant That Assures Liberty to Minorities in Poland— M. Clemenceau's Letter

WHEN the principal allied and associated powers signed the German Peace Treaty on June 28, 1919, they also signed another important pact to which the Polish delegates had just affixed their signatures. This treaty with Poland was the first of a series of formal agreements binding the new States of Eastern Europe to maintain the institutions of modern political freedom under the aegis of the League of Nations. Under the treaty Poland agreed to protect minorities against discrimination, to assume payment of such a share of the Russian debt as should be assigned to her by the Interallied Commission, and to support important international postal, railway, telegraphic, and other conventions incidental to the establishment of a national standing.

A statement issued at Paris on June 30 by Louis Marshall, President of the Combined Jewish Committees of the World, contained this comment on the treaty:

"Nothing thus far accomplished by the Peace Conference exceeds in importance the Polish treaty signed at Versailles, which is the first of a series of conventions with the new States of Eastern Europe to protect all racial, religious, and linguistic minorities. It is literally a charter of liberty and the final act of emancipation of those who for centuries have been bereft of elemental human rights. Had nothing else been achieved in Paris than the pronouncement that henceforth the rights of minorities are to be respected and safeguarded, this act of righteousness alone would have evidenced a memorable advance in the onward march of civilization. It enshrines in the law of nations the eternal principles of human liberty that constitute the distinctive features of the American Constitution."

EXPLANATORY LETTER

In transmitting this document to the Polish Government on June 24 Premier Clemenceau, as President of the Peace Conference, addressed a long letter to Premier Paderewski at Warsaw setting forth the reasons for the various conditions laid down in it. The letter began as follows:

On behalf of the Supreme Council of the principal allied and associated powers, I have the honor of communicating to you herewith, in its final form, the text of the treaty which, in accordance with Article 93 of the treaty of peace with Germany, Poland will be asked to sign on the occasion of the confirmation of her recognition as an independent State and of the transference to her of the territories included in the former German Empire which are assigned to her by the said treaty.

The principal provisions were communicated to the Polish delegation in Paris in May last and were subsequently communicated direct to the Polish Government through the French Minister at Warsaw. The council since has had the advantage of the suggestions which you were good enough to convey in the memorandum of June 16, and as the result of a study of the suggestion modifications have been introduced in the text of the treaty. The council believes that it will be found that, by the modification, the principal points to which attention was drawn in your memorandum have, in so far as they relate to specific provisions of the treaty, been adequately covered.

In formally communicating to you the final decision of the principal allied and associated powers in this matter I should desire to take this opportunity of explaining in a more formal manner than has hitherto been employed the conditions by which the principal allied and associated powers have been guided in dealing with the question.

Guiding Principles

One.—In the first place, I would point out that the treaty does not constitute any fresh departure. It has for long been the established procedure of the public law of Europe that when a State is created, or even when large accessions of territory are made to an established State, the joint and formal recognition by the great powers should be accompanied by the requirement that such State

should, in the form of a binding international convention, undertake to comply with certain principles of government. This principle, for which there are numerous other precedents, received the explicit sanction when, at the last great assembly of European powers—the Congress of Berlin—the sovereignty and independence of Serbia, Montenegro, and Rumania were recognized. It is desirable to recall the words used on this occasion by the British, French, Italian and German plenipotentiaries, as recorded in the protocol of June 28, 1878.

Premier Clemenceau here quoted from Lord Salisbury, William Henry Waddington, French plenipotentiary at the Berlin Congress; Prince Bismarck, Count de Launay, Italian plenipotentiary, and Count Andrassy of Austria-Hungary, who made declarations on the occasion in question emphasizing the necessity of establishing the principle of liberty. Premier Clemenceau then resumed:

Two.—The principal allied and associated powers are of the opinion that they would be false to the responsibility which rests upon them if on this occasion they departed from what has become an established tradition. In this connection I must also recall to your consideration the fact that it is through the endeavors and sacrifices of the powers in whose name I am addressing you that the Polish Nation owes the recovery of its independence. It is by their decision that sovereignty is being re-established over the territories in question, and that the inhabitants of these territories are being incorporated in the Polish Nation. It is on the support which these powers will afford to the League of Nations that the future Poland will, to a large extent, depend for the secure possession of these territories.

There rests, therefore, upon these powers an obligation which they cannot evade to secure in the most permanent and solemn form guarantees for certain essential rights which will afford to the inhabitants the necessary protection, whatever changes may take place in the internal constitution of the Polish State.

It is in accordance with this obligation that Clause 93 was inserted in the treaty of peace with Germany. This clause relates only to Poland, but a similar clause applies the same principles to Czechoslovakia, and other clauses have been inserted in the treaty of peace with Austria, and will be inserted in those with Hungary and Bulgaria, under which similar obligations will be undertaken by other States which, under those treaties, receive large accessions of territory.

The consideration of these facts would be sufficient to show that by the requirement addressed to Poland at the time when it is receiving in the most solemn manner the joint

recognition of the re-establishment of its sovereignty and independence, and when large accessions of territory are being assigned to it, no doubt is thrown upon the sincerity of the desire of the Polish Government and the Polish Nation to maintain the general principles of justice and liberty. Any such doubt would be far from the intention of the principal allied and associated powers.

Three.—It is indeed true that the new treaty differs in form from earlier conventions dealing with similar matters. The change of form is a necessary consequence and an essential part of the new system of international relations which is now being built up by the establishment of the League of Nations. Under the older system the guarantee for the execution of similar provisions was vested in the great powers. Experience has shown that this was in practice ineffective, and it was also open to the criticism that it might give to the great powers, either individually or in combination, a right to interfere in the internal constitution of the States affected, which could be used for political purposes.

Under the new system the guarantee is entrusted to the League of Nations. The clauses dealing with this guarantee have been carefully drafted, so as to make it clear that Poland will not be in any way under the tutelage of those powers who are signatory to the treaty.

I should desire, moreover, to point out to you that provision has been inserted in the treaty by which disputes arising out of its provisions may be brought before the court of the League of Nations. In this way differences which might arise will be removed from the political sphere and placed in the hands of a judicial court, and it is hoped that thereby an impartial decision will be facilitated, while at the same time any danger of political interferences by the powers in the internal affairs of Poland will be avoided.

Four.—The particular provisions to which Poland and the other States will be asked to adhere differ to some extent from those which were imposed on the new States at the Congress of Berlin. But the obligations imposed upon new States seeking recognition have at all times varied with the particular circumstances.

NEW PROVISIONS NECESSARY

Premier Clemenceau here pointed out that obligations with regard to the Belgian provinces were undertaken by the Netherlands in 1814, when those provinces were annexed; that when the Kingdom of Greece was established it was determined that its Government could be both monarchical and constitutional, and that Greece, when she annexed Thessaly, accepted a stipulation

that the lives, property, honor, religion, and customs of the inhabitants should be respected and all their rights protected. He continued:

The situation with which the powers have now to deal is new, and experience has shown that new provisions are necessary. The territories now being transferred both to Poland and to other States inevitably include a large population speaking languages and belonging to races different from that of the people with whom they will be incorporated. Unfortunately, the races have been estranged by long years of bitter hostilities. It is believed that these populations will be more easily reconciled to their new position if they know that from the very beginning they have assured protection and adequate guarantees against any danger of unjust treatment or oppression. The very knowledge that these guarantees exist will, it is hoped, materially help the reconciliation which all desire, and will, indeed, do much to prevent the necessity of its enforcement.

Five.—To turn to the individual clauses of the present treaty, Article 2 guarantees to all inhabitants those elementary rights which are, as a matter of fact, secured in every civilized State. Clauses 3 to 6 are designed to insure that all the genuine residents in the territories now transferred to Polish sovereignty shall in fact be assured of the full privileges of citizenship. Articles 7 and 8, which are in accordance with precedent, provide against any discrimination against those Polish citizens who by their religion, their language, or by their race differ from the large mass of the Polish population. It is understood that, far from raising any objection to the manner of the articles, the Polish Government have already, of their own accord, declared their firm intention of basing their institutions on the cardinal principles enunciated therein.

PROTECTION FOR JEWS

The following articles are of a rather different nature, in that they provide special privileges to certain groups of these minorities: * * *

Six.—Clauses 10 and 12 deal specifically with the Jewish citizens of Poland. The information at the disposal of the principal allied and associated powers as to the existing relations between the Jews and the other Polish citizens has led them to the conclusion that, in view of the historical development of the Jewish question and the great animosity aroused by it, special protection is necessary for the Jews of Poland. These clauses have been limited to the minimum

which seems necessary under the circumstances of the present day, viz., the maintenance of Jewish schools and the protection of the Jews in the religious observance of their Sabbath.

It is believed that these stipulations will not create any obstacle to the political unity of Poland. They do not constitute any recognition of the Jews as a separate political community within the Polish State. The educational provisions contain nothing beyond what is in fact provided in the educational institutions of many highly organized modern States. There is nothing inconsistent with the sovereignty of the State in recognizing and supporting schools in which children shall be brought up in the religious influences to which they are accustomed in their home. Ample safeguards against any use of non-Polish language to encourage a spirit of national separation have been provided in the express acknowledgment that the provisions of this treaty do not prevent the Polish State from making the Polish language obligatory in all its schools and educational institutions.

In Part 7 of his letter Premier Clemenceau dealt with the economic clauses of the treaty, such as freedom of transit and Poland's adhesion to certain international conventions, and pointed out that the powers had not been actuated by any desire to secure special commercial advantages for themselves. He added:

In conclusion, I desire to express to you on behalf of the allied and associated powers the very sincere satisfaction which they feel at the re-establishment of Poland as an important State. They cordially welcome the Polish Nation on its re-entry into the family of nations. They recall the great services which the ancient Kingdom of Poland rendered to Europe both in public affairs and by its contributions to the progress of mankind, which is the common work of all civilized nations. They believe that the voice of Poland will add to the wisdom of their common deliberations in the cause of peace and harmony, that its influence will be used to further the spirit of liberty and justice, both in internal and external affairs, and that thereby it will help in the work of reconciliation between the nations which, with the conclusion of peace, will be the common task of humanity.

The text of the treaty itself, signed by Poland and the allied and associated powers on June 28, 1919, is given in full on the next four pages.

Text of Treaty Signed by Poland

The United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan, the principal allied and associated powers, on the one hand; and Poland, on the other hand:

Whereas, The allied and associated powers have, by the success of their arms, restored to the Polish Nation the independence of which it had been unjustly deprived; and

Whereas, By the proclamation of March 30, 1917, the Government of Russia assented to the re-establishment of an independent Polish State; and

Whereas, The Polish State, which now, in fact, exercises sovereignty over those portions of the former Russian Empire which are inhabited by a majority of Poles, has already been recognized as a sovereign and important State by the principal allied and associated powers; and

Whereas, Under the treaty of peace concluded with Germany by the allied and associated powers, a treaty of which Poland is a signatory, certain portions of the former German Empire will be incorporated in the territory of Poland; and

Whereas, Under the terms of the said treaty of peace, the boundaries of Poland not already laid down are to be subsequently determined by the principal allied and associated powers;

The United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan, on the one hand, confirming their recognition of the Polish State, constituted within the said limits as a sovereign and independent member of the family of nations and being anxious to insure the execution of the provisions of Article 93 of the said treaty of peace with Germany;

Poland, on the other hand, desiring to conform her institutions to the principles of liberty and justice, and to give a sure guarantee to the inhabitants of the territory over which she assumed sovereignty; for this purpose the following representatives of the high contracting parties:

The President of the United States of America; his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British dominions beyond the seas, Emperor of India; the President of the French Republic; his Majesty the King of Italy; his Majesty the Emperor of Japan, and the President of the Polish Republic, after having exchanged their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed as follows:

CHAPTER I.

ARTICLE 1.—Poland undertakes that the stipulations contained in Articles 2 and 8 of this chapter shall be recognized as fundamental law, and that no law, regulation, or

official action shall conflict or interfere with these stipulations, nor shall any law, regulation, or official action prevail over them.

ARTICLE 2.—Poland undertakes to assure full and complete protection to life and liberty to all inhabitants of Poland, without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race, or religion.

All inhabitants of Poland shall be entitled to the free exercise, whether public or private, of any creed, religion, or belief whose practices are not inconsistent with public order or public morals.

ARTICLE 3.—Poland admits and declares to be Polish nationals ipso facto Hungarian or Russian nationals habitually resident, at the date of the coming into force of the present treaty, in territory which is or may be recognized as forming part of Poland under the treaties with Germany, Austria, Hungary, or Russia, respectively, but subject to any provisions in the said treaties relating to persons who became resident in such territory after a specified date.

Nevertheless, the persons referred to above who are over 12 years of age will be entitled under the conditions contained in the said treaties to opt for any other nationality which may be open to them. Option by a husband will cover his wife and option by parents will cover their children under 18 years of age.

Persons who have exercised the above right to option must, except where it is otherwise provided in the treaty of peace with Germany, transfer within the succeeding twelve months their place of residence to the State for which they have opted. They will be entitled to retain their immovable property in Polish territory. They may carry with them their movable property of every description. No export duties may be imposed upon them in connection with the removal of such property.

ARTICLE 4.—Poland admits and declares to be Polish nationals, ipso facto and without the requirement of any formality, persons of German, Austrian, Hungarian, or Russian nationality who were born in the said territory of parents habitually resident there, even if at the date of the coming into force of the present treaty they are not themselves habitually resident there.

Nevertheless, within two years after the coming into force of the present treaty, these persons may make a declaration before the competent Polish authorities in the country in which they are resident, stating that they abandon Polish nationality, and they will then cease to be considered as Polish nationals. In this connection a declaration by a husband will cover his wife, and a declaration by parents will cover their children under 18 years of age.

ARTICLE 5.—Poland undertakes to put no

hindrance in the way of the exercise of the right which the persons concerned have, under the treaties concluded or to be concluded by the allied and associated powers with Germany, Austria, Hungary, or Russia, to choose whether or not they will acquire Polish nationality.

ARTICLE 6.—All persons born in Polish territory who are not born nationals of another State shall ipso facto become Polish nationals.

ARTICLE 7.—All Polish nationals shall be equal before the law and shall enjoy the same civil and political rights without distinction as to race, language, or religion.

Differences of religion, creed, or confession shall not prejudice any Polish national in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil or political rights, as for admission to public employments, functions, and honors, or the exercise of professions and industries.

No restriction shall be imposed on the free use by any Polish national of any language in private intercourse, in commerce, in religion, in the press, or in publications of any kind, or at public meetings.

Notwithstanding any establishment by the Polish Government of an official language, adequate facilities shall be given to Polish nationals of non-Polish speech for the use of their language, either orally or in writing, before the courts.

ARTICLE 8.—Polish nationals who belong to racial, religious, or linguistic minorities shall enjoy the same treatment and security in law and in fact as the Polish nationals. In particular they shall have an equal right to establish, manage, and control at their own expense charitable, religious, and social institutions, schools and other educational establishments, with the right to use their own language and to exercise their religion freely therein.

ARTICLE 9.—Poland will provide, in the public educational system in towns and districts in which a considerable proportion of Polish nationals of other than Polish speech are residents, adequate facilities for insuring that in the primary schools instruction shall be given to the children of such Polish nationals through the medium of their own language. This provision shall not prevent the Polish Government from making the teaching of the Polish language obligatory in the said schools.

In towns and districts where there is a considerable proportion of Polish nationals belonging to racial, religious, or linguistic minorities, these minorities shall be assured an equitable share in the enjoyment and application of the sums which may be provided out of public funds under the State, municipal, or other budgets, for educational, religious, or charitable purposes.

The provisions of this article shall apply to Polish citizens of German speech only in that part of Poland which was German territory on Aug. 1, 1914.

ARTICLE 10.—Educational committees ap-

pointed locally by the Jewish communities of Poland will, subject to the general control of the State, provide for the distribution of the proportional share of public funds allocated to Jewish schools in accordance with Article 9, and for the organization and management of these schools.

The provision of Article 9 concerning the use of language in schools shall apply to these schools.

ARTICLE 11.—Jews shall not be compelled to perform any act which constitutes a violation of their Sabbath, nor shall they be placed under any disability by reason of their refusal to attend courts of law or to perform any legal business on their Sabbath. This provision, however, shall not exempt Jews from such obligations as shall be imposed upon all other Polish citizens for the necessary purposes of military service, national defense, or the preservation of public order.

Poland declares her intention to refrain from ordering or permitting elections, whether general or local, to be held on a Saturday, nor will registration for electoral or other purposes be compelled to be performed on a Saturday.

ARTICLE 12.—Poland agrees that the stipulations in the foregoing articles, so far as they affect persons belonging to racial, religious, or linguistic minorities, constitute obligations of international concern, and shall be placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations. They shall not be modified without the assent of a majority of the Council of the League of Nations. The United States, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan hereby agree not to withhold their assent from any modification in these articles which is in due form assented to by a majority of the Council of the League of Nations.

Poland agrees that any member of the Council of the League of Nations shall have the right to bring to the attention of the Council any infraction, or any danger of infraction, of any of these obligations, and that the council may thereupon take such action and give such direction as it may deem proper and effective in the circumstances.

Poland further agrees that any difference of opinion as to question of law or fact arising out of these articles, between the Polish Government and any of the principal allied and associated powers, or any other power a member of the Council of the League of Nations, shall be held to be a dispute of an international character under Article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. The Polish Government hereby consents that any such dispute shall, if the other party thereof demands, be referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice. The decision of the Permanent Court shall be final and shall have the same force and effect as an award under Article 13 of the covenant.

CHAPTER II.

ARTICLE 13.—Each of the principal allied and associated powers, on the one part, and Poland on the other shall be at liberty to appoint diplomatic representatives to reside in their respective capitals, as well as Consul Generals, Consuls, Vice Consuls, and Consular Agents, to reside in the towns and ports of their respective territories.

Consul Generals, Consuls, Vice Consuls, and Consular Agents, however, shall not enter upon their duties until they have been admitted in the usual manner by the Government in the territory of which they are stationed.

Consul Generals, Consuls, Vice Consuls, and Consular Agents shall enjoy all the facilities, privileges, exemptions, and immunities of every kind which are or shall be granted to Consular officers of the most favored nation.

ARTICLE 14.—Pending the establishment of a permanent tariff by the Polish Government, goods originating in the allied and associated States shall not be subject to any higher duties on importation into Poland than the most favorable rates of duty applicable to goods of the same kind under either the German, Austro-Hungarian, or Russian customs tariffs on July 1, 1914.

ARTICLE 15.—Poland undertakes to make no treaty, convention, or arrangement, and to take no other action, which will prevent her from joining in any general agreement for the equitable treatment of the commerce of other States that may be concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations within five years from the coming into force of the present treaty.

Poland also undertakes to extend to all the allied and associated States any favors or privileges in customs matters which they may grant during the same period of five years to any State with which, since August, 1914, the Allies have been at war, or to any State which may have concluded with Austria special customs arrangements as provided for in the treaty of peace to be concluded with Austria.

ARTICLE 16.—Pending the conclusion of the general agreement referred to above, Poland undertakes to treat on the same footing as national vessels, or vessels of the most favored nation, the vessels of all the allied and associated States which accord similar treatment to Polish vessels.

By way of exception from this provision, the right of Poland or any other allied or associated State to confine her maritime coasting trade to national vessels is expressly reserved.

ARTICLE 17.—Pending the conclusion, under the auspices of the League of Nations, of a general convention to secure and maintain freedom of communications and of transit, Poland undertakes to accord freedom of transit of persons, goods, vessels, carriages,

wagons, and mails in transit to or from any allied or associated State over Polish territory, including territorial waters, and to treat them at least as favorably as the persons, goods, vessels, carriages, wagons, and mails respectively of Polish or of any other more favored nationality, origin, importation, or ownership, as regards facilities, charges, restrictions, and all other matters.

All charges imposed in Poland on such traffic in transit shall be reasonable, having regard to the conditions of the traffic. Goods in transit shall be exempt from all customs or other duties. Tariffs for transit traffic across Poland and tariffs between Poland and any allied or associated power, involving through tickets or waybills, shall be established at the request of that allied or associated power.

Freedom of transit will extend to postal, telegraphic, and telephonic services.

It is agreed that no allied or associated power can claim the benefit of these provisions on behalf of any part of its territory in which reciprocal treatment is not accorded with respect to the same subject matter.

If within a period of five years from the coming into force of the present treaty no general convention as aforesaid shall have been concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations, Poland shall be at liberty at any time thereafter to give twelve months' notice to the Secretary General of the League of Nations to terminate obligations of this article.

ARTICLE 18.—Pending the conclusion of a general convention on the international régime of waterways, Poland undertakes to apply to the river system of the Vistula (including the Bug and the Narew) the régime applicable to international waterways set out in Articles 332 to 337 of the treaty of peace with Germany.

ARTICLE 19.—Poland undertakes to adhere, within twelve months of the coming into force of the present treaty, to the international conventions specified in Annex I.

Poland undertakes to adhere to any new convention, concluded with the approval of the Council of the League of Nations within five years of the coming into force of the present treaty, to replace any of the international instruments specified in Annex I.

The Polish Government undertakes within twelve months to notify the Secretary General of the League of Nations whether or not Poland desires to adhere to either or both of the international conventions specified in Annex II.

Until Poland has adhered to the two conventions last specified in Annex I. she agrees, on condition of reciprocity, to protect by effective measures the industrial, literary, and artistic property of nationals of the allied and associated States. In the case of any allied or associated State not adhering to the said conventions, Poland agrees to continue to afford such effective protection on

the same conditions until the conclusion of a special bilateral treaty or agreement for that purpose with such allied or associated State.

Pending her adhesion to the other conventions specified in Annex I., Poland will secure to the nationals of the allied and associated powers the advantages to which they would be entitled under the said conventions.

Poland further agrees, on condition of reciprocity, to recognize and protect all rights in any industrial, literary, or artistic property belonging to the nationals of the allied and associated States now in force or which, but for the war, would have been in force in any part of her territories before their transfer to Poland. For such purposes they will accord the extensions of time agreed to in Articles 307 and 308 of the treaty with Germany.

ANNEX I.

TELEGRAPHIC AND RADIO-TELEGRAPHIC CONVENTIONS

International Telegraphic Convention signed at St. Petersburg July 10-22, 1875.

Regulations and tariffs drawn up by the International Telegraph Conference signed at Lisbon June 11, 1908.

International Radio-Telegraphic Convention, July 5, 1912.

RAILWAY CONVENTIONS

Conventions and arrangements signed at Berne on Oct. 14, 1890, Sept. 20, 1893, July 16, 1895, and Sept. 19, 1906, and the current supplementary provisions made under those conventions.

Agreement on May 15, 1886, regarding the sealing of railway trucks subject to custom inspections, and protocol of May 18, 1907.

Agreement of May 15, 1886, regarding the technical standardization of railways, as modified on May 18, 1907.

SANITARY CONVENTION

Convention of Dec. 3, 1903.

OTHER CONVENTIONS

Convention of Sept. 26, 1906, for the suppression of night work for women.

Convention of Sept. 26, 1906, for the suppression of the use of white phosphorus in the manufacture of matches.

Conventions of May 18, 1904, and May 4, 1910, regarding the suppression of the white slave traffic.

Convention of May 4, 1910, regarding the suppression of obscene publications.

International conventions of Paris of March

20, 1883, as revised at Washington in 1911, for the protection of industrial property.

International convention of Sept. 3, 1886, revised at Berlin on Nov. 13, 1908, and completed by the additional protocol signed at Berne on March 20, 1914, for the protection of literary and artistic works.

ANNEX II.

Agreement of Madrid of April 14, 1891, for the prevention of false indications of origin on goods, revised at Washington in 1911, and agreement of Madrid of April 14, 1891, for the international registration of trade marks, revised at Washington in 1911.

ARTICLE 20.—All rights and privileges accorded by the foregoing articles to the allied and associated States shall be accorded equally to all States members of the League of Nations.

The present treaty, of which the French and English texts are both authentic, shall be ratified. It shall come into force at the same time as the treaty of peace with Germany.

The deposit of ratifications shall be made at Paris.

Powers of which the seat of the Government is outside Europe will be entitled merely to inform the Government of the French Republic through their diplomatic representative at Paris that their ratification has been given. In that case they must transmit the instrument of ratification as soon as possible.

A procès-verbal of the deposit of ratifications will be drawn up.

The French Government will transmit to all the signatory powers a certified copy of the procès-verbal of the deposit of ratifications.

ARTICLE 21.—Poland agrees to assume responsibility for such proportion of the Russian public debt and other Russian public liabilities of any kind as may be assigned to her under a special convention between the principal allied and associated powers on the one hand and Poland on the other, to be prepared by a commission appointed by the above States. In the event of the commission not arriving at an agreement, the point at issue shall be referred for immediate arbitration to the League of Nations.

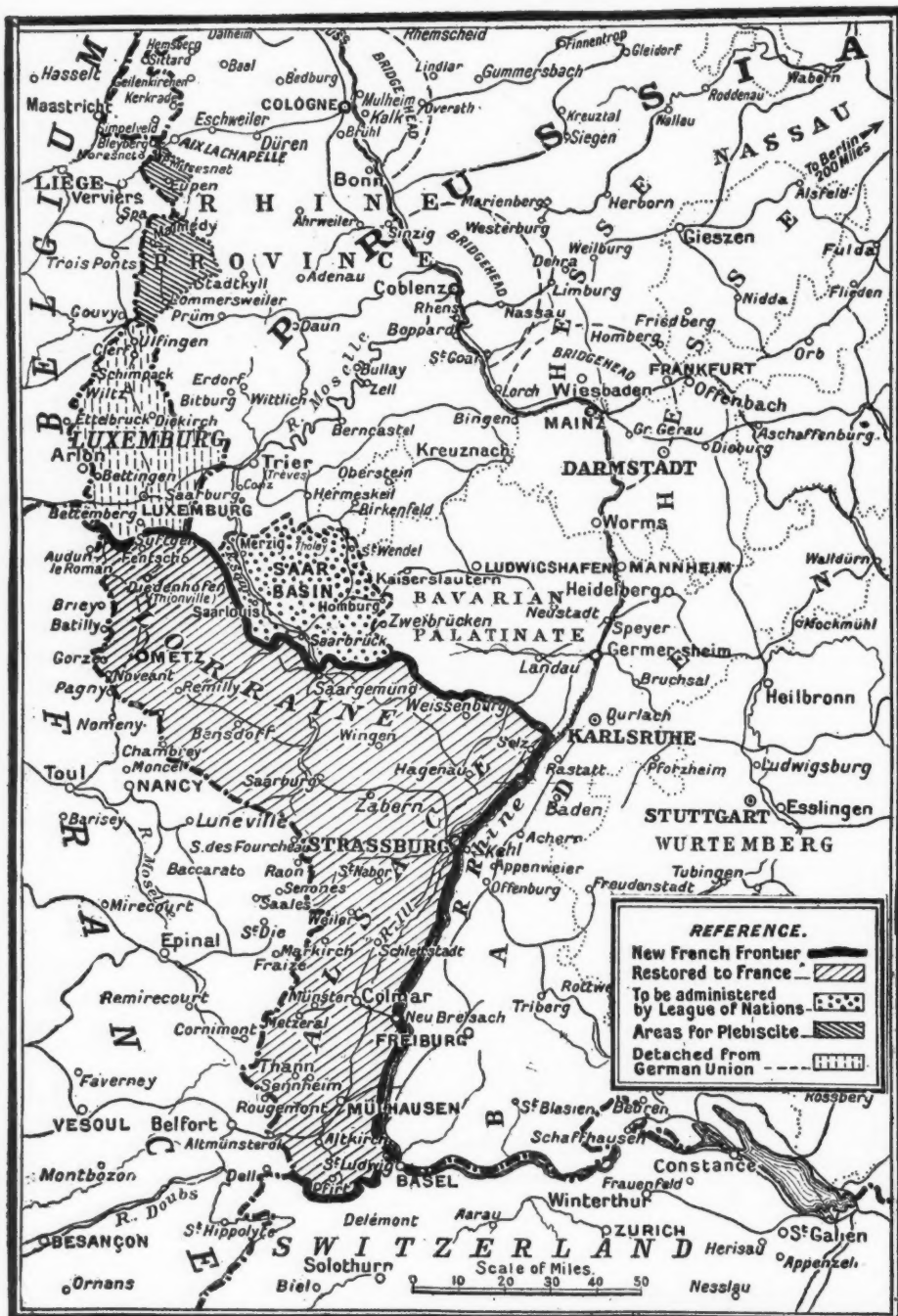
In faith whereof the above-named plenipotentiaries have signed the present treaty.

Done at Versailles, [June 28, 1919,] in a single copy which will remain deposited in the archives of the French Republic, and of which authenticated copies will be transmitted to each of the signatory powers.



New Western Frontier of Germany

[As defined by Peace Treaty]

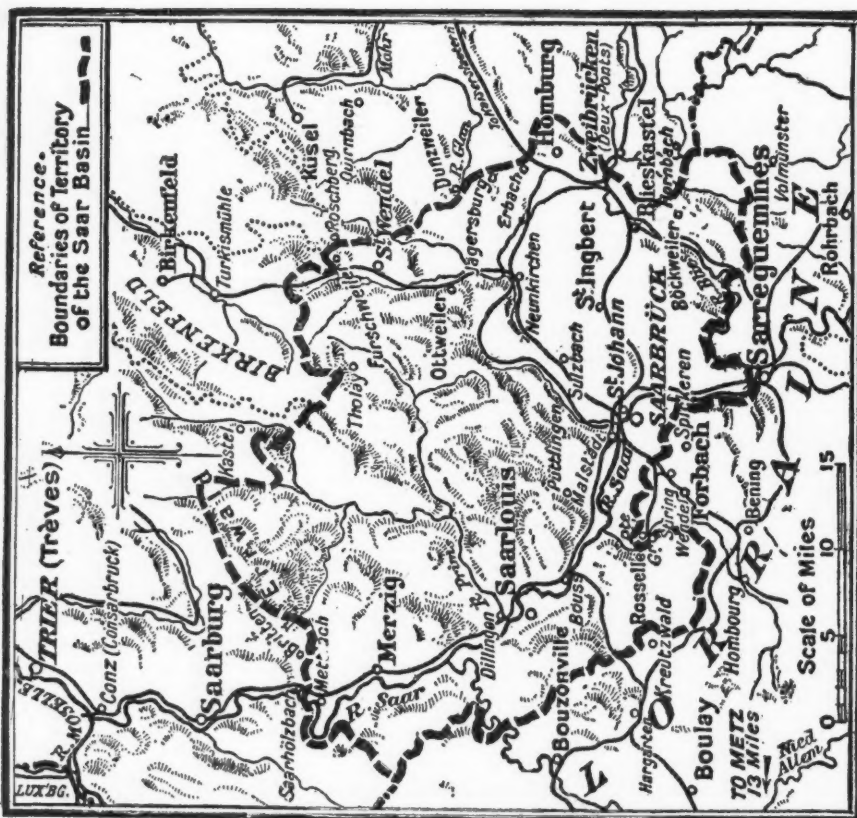


CHANGES OF SOVEREIGNTY AND OF BOUNDARY LINES ON THE FRENCH AND BELGIAN BORDER ESTABLISHED BY ARTICLE 27 OF THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES

Eastern Frontier of Germany as Defined by the Peace Treaty



THE ESTABLISHING OF POLAND AS AN INDEPENDENT STATE UNDER ARTICLES 87 TO 93 OF THE PEACE TREATY CAUSED THE RADICAL BOUNDARY CHANGES HERE INDICATED



MAP OF SARRE BASIN AND ITS COAL MINES, WHICH, UNDER ARTICLES 48 AND 49 OF THE PEACE TREATY, PASS INTO THE POSSESSION OF FRANCE AS COMPENSATION FOR MINES DESTROYED BY GERMANY



REGION OF SCHLESWIG THAT IS TO VOTE ON ANNEXATION TO DENMARK IN ACCORDANCE WITH ARTICLE 109 OF THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES

THE GERMAN PEACE TREATY

Full Text of the Historic Document Signed at Versailles on June 28, 1919

The complete and final text of the Treaty of Versailles, which was signed by the peace plenipotentiaries of Germany and of twenty-six Allied and Associated Powers on June 28, 1919, is here presented. The original version of the treaty terms handed to Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau on May 7 underwent many minor changes in the weeks of negotiation that intervened, and the Polish section was completely rewritten. The text here given is reproduced from one of the revised and reprinted copies issued in French and English by the Peace Conference and distributed among the delegates at the time of the signing. The one sealed and morocco-bound copy which was actually signed by the delegates remains deposited, with the original maps belonging to it, in the archives of the French Republic at Paris. The delegates named in the preamble are those who signed the treaty, with a few exceptions; China's plenipotentiaries refused to sign on account of the Shantung concessions to Japan, and Italy's signers, owing to the overthrow of the Orlando Ministry, were a new group headed by Signor Tittoni, the new Foreign Minister. The German signers were Dr. Hermann Müller and Dr. Johannes Bell, instead of the Brockdorff delegation, which had withdrawn.

CONDITIONS OF PEACE

THE United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan, these powers being described in the present treaty as the principal Allied and Associated Powers; Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, China, Cuba, Ecuador, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, the Hedjaz, Honduras, Liberia, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, the Serb-Croat-Slovene State; Siam, Czechoslovakia, and Uruguay, these powers constituting with the principal powers mentioned above the Allied and Associated Powers of the one part; and Germany, of the other part: Bearing in mind that on the request of the Imperial German Government an armistice was granted on Nov. 11, 1918, to Germany by the principal Allied and Associated Powers in order that a treaty of peace might be concluded with her, and the Allied and Associated Powers being equally desirous that the war in which they were successively involved directly or indirectly, and which originated in the declaration of war by Austria-Hungary on July 28, 1914, against Serbia; the declaration of war by Germany against Russia on Aug. 1, 1914, and against France on Aug. 3,

1914, and in the invasion of Belgium, should be replaced by a firm, just, and durable peace;

For this purpose the high contracting parties represented as follows:

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, by:

The Honorable Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, acting in his own name and by his own proper authority;
The Honorable Robert Lansing, Secretary of State;

The Honorable Henry White, formerly Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States at Rome and Paris;

The Honorable Edward M. House;
General Tasker H. Bliss, Military Representative of the United States on the Supreme War Council;

HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND AND OF THE BRITISH DOMINIONS BEYOND THE SEAS, EMPEROR OF INDIA, by:

The Right Honorable David Lloyd George, M. P., First Lord of his Treasury and Prime Minister;

The Right Honorable Andrew Bonar Law, M. P., his Lord Privy Seal;

The Right Honorable Viscount Milner, G. C. B., G. C. M. G., his Secretary of State for the Colonies;

The Right Honorable Arthur James Bal-

- four, O. M., M. P., his Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs;
 The Right Honorable George Nicoll Barnes, M. P., Minister without portfolio; and
- FOR THE DOMINION OF CANADA, by:**
 The Right Honorable Sir George Eulas Foster, G. C. M. G., Minister of Trade and Commerce;
 The Right Honorable Charles Joseph Doherty, Minister of Justice;
- FOR THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA, by:**
 The Right Honorable William Morris Hughes, Attorney General and Prime Minister;
 The Right Honorable Sir Joseph Cook, G. C. M. G., Minister for the Navy;
- FOR THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA, by:**
 General the Right Honorable Louis Botha, Prime Minister;
 Lieut. General the Right Honorable Jan Christiaan Smuts, K. C., Minister of Defense;
- FOR THE DOMINION OF NEW ZEALAND, by:**
 The Right Honorable William Ferguson Massey, Minister of Labor and Prime Minister;
- FOR INDIA, by:**
 The Right Honorable Edwin Samuel Montagu, M. P., his Secretary of State for India;
 Major General his Highness Maharaja Sir Ganga Singh Bahadur, Maharaja of Bikaner, G. C. S. I., G. C. I. E., G. C. V. O., K. C. B., A. D. C.;
- THE PRESIDENT OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC, by:**
 Mr. Georges Clemenceau, President of the Council, Minister of War;
 Mr. Pichon, Minister of Foreign Affairs;
 Mr. L. L. Klotz, Minister of Finance;
 Mr. André Tardieu, Commissary General for Franco-American Military Affairs;
 Mr. Jules Cambon, Ambassador of France;
- HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF ITALY, by:**
 Mr. V. E. Orlando, President of the Council of Ministers;
 Baron S. Sonnino, Minister of Foreign Affairs;
 Mr. S. Crespi, Deputy, Minister of Supplies;
 Marquis G. Imperiali, Senator of the Kingdom, Ambassador of his Majesty the King of Italy at London;
 Mr. S. Barzilai, Deputy, formerly Minister;
- HIS MAJESTY THE EMPEROR OF JAPAN, by:**
 Marquis Salozzi, formerly President of the Council of Ministers;
 Baron Makino, formerly Minister of Foreign Affairs, member of the Diplomatic Council;
 Viscount Chinda, Ambassador Extraordi-
- nary and Plenipotentiary of H. M. the Emperor of Japan at London;
 Mr. K. Matsui, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of H. M. the Emperor of Japan at Paris;
 Mr. H. Ijuin, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of H. M. the Emperor of Japan at Rome;
- HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF THE BELGIANS, by:**
 Mr. Hymans, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Minister of State;
 Mr. Van Den Heuvel, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of H. M. the King of the Belgians, Minister of State;
 Mr. Vandervelde, Minister of Justice, Minister of State;
- THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF BOLIVIA, by:**
 Mr. Ismael Montes, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Bolivia at Paris;
- THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF BRAZIL, by:**
 Mr. Epitacio Pessoa, formerly Minister of State, formerly member of the Supreme Court of Justice, Federal Senator;
 Mr. Pandiá Calogeras, Deputy, formerly Minister of Finance;
 Mr. Raul Fernandes;
- THE PRESIDENT OF THE CHINESE REPUBLIC, by:**
 Mr. Lou Tseng-Tsiang, Minister of Foreign Affairs;
 Mr. Chengting Thomas Wang, formerly Minister of Agriculture and Commerce;
- THE PRESIDENT OF THE CUBAN REPUBLIC, by:**
 Mr. Antonio Sanchez de Bustamante, Dean of the Faculty of Law in the University of Havana, President of the Cuban Society of International Law;
- THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF ECUADOR, by:**
 Mr. Enrique Dorn y de Alsua, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Ecuador at Paris;
- HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF THE HELLENES, by:**
 Mr. Eleftherios Venizelos, President of the Council of Ministers;
 Mr. Nicolas Politis, Minister of Foreign Affairs;
- THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF GUATEMALA, by:**
 Mr. Joaquin Mendez, formerly Minister of State for Public Works and Public Instruction, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Guatemala at Washington, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary on Special Mission at Paris;
- THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF HAITI, by:**
 Mr. Tertullien Gullbaud, Envoy Extraordi-

nary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Haiti at Paris;

HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF THE HEDJAZ, by:

Mr. Rustem Haidar,
Mr. Abdul Hadi Aouni;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF HONDURAS, by:

Dr. Policarpe Bonilla, on special mission to Washington, formerly President of the Republic of Honduras, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA, by:

The Honorable C. D. B. King, Secretary of State;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF NICARAGUA, by:

Mr. Salvador Chamorro, President of the Chamber of Deputies;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF PANAMA, by:

Mr. Antonio Burgos, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Panama at Madrid;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF PERU, by:

Mr. Carlos G. Candamo, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Peru at Paris;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE POLISH REPUBLIC, by:

Mr. Roman Dmowski, President of the Polish National Committee;

Mr. Ignace Paderewski, President of the Council of Ministers, Minister of Foreign Affairs;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE PORTUGUESE REPUBLIC, by:

Dr. Affonso Costa, formerly President of the Council of Ministers;

Mr. Augusto Soares, formerly Minister of Foreign Affairs;

HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF RUMANIA, by:

Mr. Jean J. C. Bratiano, President of the Council of Ministers, Minister of Foreign Affairs;

General Constantin Coanda, Corps Commander, A. D. C. to the King, formerly President of the Council of Ministers;

HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF THE SERBS, THE CROATS, AND THE SLOVENES, by:

Mr. N. P. Pachitch, formerly President of the Council of Ministers;

Mr. Ante Trumbic, Minister of Foreign Affairs;

Mr. Milenko R. Vesnitch, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of H. M. the King of the Serbs, the Croats, and the Slovenes at Paris;

HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF SIAM, by:

Prince Charoon, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of H. M. the King of Siam at Paris;

Prince Traidos Prabandhu, Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK REPUBLIC, by:

Mr. Charles Kramar, President of the Council of Ministers;

Mr. Edouard Benes, Minister of Foreign Affairs;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF URUGUAY, by:

Mr. Juan Antonio Buero, Minister of Industry, formerly Minister of Foreign Affairs;

GERMANY, by:

Count Brockdorff-Rantzau, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Empire;

Dr. Landsberg, Minister of Justice of the Empire;

Mr. Glesberts, Minister of Posts of the Empire;

Oberbürgermeister Leinert, President of the Prussian National Assembly;

Dr. Schücking;

Dr. Karl Melchior;

Acting in the name of the German Empire and of each and every component State,

WHO having communicated their full powers found in good and due form HAVE AGREED AS FOLLOWS:

From the coming into force of the present treaty the state of war will terminate. From that moment and subject to the provisions of this treaty official relations with Germany and with any of the German States will be resumed by the Allied and Associated Powers.

PART I.—The Covenant of the League of Nations

THE high contracting parties, in order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war, by the prescription of open, just, and honorable relations between nations, by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among Governments, and by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another, agree to this covenant of the League of Nations.

ARTICLE 1.—The original members of the League of Nations shall be those of the signatories which are named in the annex to this covenant and also such of those other States named in the annex as shall accede without reservation to this covenant. Such accession shall be effected by a declaration deposited with the secretariat within two months of the coming into force of the covenant. Notice thereof shall be sent to all other members of the League.

Any fully self-governing State, dominion, or colony not named in the annex may become a member of the League if its admis-

sion is agreed to by two-thirds of the assembly, provided that it shall give effective guarantees of its sincere intention to observe its international obligations, and shall accept such regulations as may be prescribed by the League in regard to its military, naval and air forces and armaments.

Any member of the League may, after two years' notice of its intention so to do, withdraw from the League, provided that all its international obligations and all its obligations under this covenant shall have been fulfilled at the time of its withdrawal.

ARTICLE 2.—The action of the League under this covenant shall be effected through the instrumentality of an assembly and of a council, with a permanent secretariat.

ARTICLE 3.—The assembly shall consist of representatives of the members of the League.

The assembly shall meet at stated intervals and from time to time as occasion may require at the seat of the League or at such other place as may be decided upon.

The assembly may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world.

At meetings of the assembly each member of the League shall have one vote, and may have not more than three representatives.

ARTICLE 4.—The council shall consist of representatives of the principal Allied and Associated Powers, together with representatives of four other members of the League. These four members of the League shall be selected by the assembly from time to time in its discretion. Until the appointment of the representatives of the four members of the League first selected by the assembly, representatives of Belgium, Brazil, Spain, and Greece shall be members of the council.

With the approval of the majority of the assembly, the council may name additional members of the League whose representatives shall always be members of the council; the council with like approval may increase the number of members of the League to be selected by the assembly for representation on the council.

The council shall meet from time to time as occasion may require, and at least once a year, at the seat of the League, or at such other place as may be decided upon.

The council may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world.

Any member of the League not represented on the council shall be invited to send a representative to sit as a member at any meeting of the council during the consideration of matters specially affecting the interests of that member of the League.

At meetings of the council, each member of the League represented on the council shall have one vote, and may have not more than one representative.

ARTICLE 5.—Except where otherwise expressly provided in this covenant or by the terms of the present treaty, decisions at any meeting of the assembly or of the council shall require the agreement of all the members of the League represented at the meeting.

All matters of procedure at meetings of the assembly or of the council, including the appointment of committees to investigate particular matters, shall be regulated by the assembly or by the council and may be decided by a majority of the members of the League represented at the meeting.

The first meeting of the assembly and the first meeting of the council shall be summoned by the President of the United States of America.

ARTICLE 6.—The permanent secretariat shall be established at the seat of the League. The secretariat shall comprise a Secretary General and such secretaries and staff as may be required.

The first Secretary General shall be the person named in the annex; thereafter the Secretary General shall be appointed by the council with the approval of the majority of the assembly.

The secretaries and staff of the secretariat shall be appointed by the Secretary General with the approval of the council.

The Secretary General shall act in that capacity at all meetings of the assembly and of the council.

The expenses of the secretariat shall be borne by the members of the League in accordance with the apportionment of the expenses of the International Bureau of the Universal Postal Union.

ARTICLE 7.—The seat of the League is established at Geneva.

The council may at any time decide that the seat of the League shall be established elsewhere.

All positions under or in connection with the League, including the secretariat, shall be open equally to men and women.

Representatives of the members of the League and officials of the League when engaged on the business of the League shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities.

The buildings and other property occupied by the League or its officials or by representatives attending its meetings shall be inviolable.

ARTICLE 8.—The members of the League recognize that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations.

The council, taking account of the geographical situation and circumstances of each State, shall formulate plans for such reduction for the consideration and action of the several Governments.

Such plans shall be subject to reconsideration and revision at least every ten years.

After these plans shall have been adopted by the several Governments, the limits of armaments therein fixed shall not be exceeded without the concurrence of the council.

The members of the League agree that the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of war is open to grave objections. The council shall advise how the evil effects attendant upon such manufacture can be prevented, due regard being had to the necessities of those members of the League which are not able to manufacture the munitions and implements of war necessary for their safety.

The members of the League undertake to interchange full and frank information as to the scale of their armaments, their military and naval programs and the condition of such of their industries as are adaptable to warlike purposes.

ARTICLE 9.—A permanent commission shall be constituted to advise the council on the execution of the provisions of Articles 1 and 8 and on military and naval questions generally.

ARTICLE 10.—The members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression the council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled.

ARTICLE 11.—Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the members of the League or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole League, and the League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations. In case any such emergency should arise the Secretary General shall on the request of any member of the League forthwith summon a meeting of the council.

It is also declared to be the friendly right of each member of the League to bring to the attention of the assembly or of the council any circumstance whatever affecting international relations which threatens to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends.

ARTICLE 12.—The members of the League agree that if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, they will submit the matter either to arbitration or to inquiry by the council, and they agree in no case to resort to war until three months after the award by the arbitrators or the report by the council.

In any case under this article the award of the arbitrators shall be made within a reasonable time, and the report of the council shall be made within six months after the submission of the dispute.

ARTICLE 13.—The members of the League agree that whenever any dispute shall arise

between them which they recognize to be suitable for submission to arbitration and which cannot be satisfactorily settled by diplomacy, they will submit the whole subject-matter to arbitration.

Disputes as to the interpretation of a treaty, as to any question of international law, as to the existence of any fact which if established would constitute a breach of any international obligation, or as to the extent and nature of the reparation to be made for any such breach, are declared to be among those which are generally suitable for submission to arbitration.

For the consideration of any such dispute the Court of Arbitration to which the case is referred shall be the court agreed on by the parties to the dispute or stipulated in any convention existing between them.

The members of the League agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award that may be rendered, and that they will not resort to war against a member of the League which complies therewith. In the event of any failure to carry out such an award, the council shall propose what steps should be taken to give effect thereto.

ARTICLE 14.—The council shall formulate and submit to the members of the League for adoption plans for the establishment of a Permanent Court of International Justice. The court shall be competent to hear and determine any dispute of an international character which the parties thereto submit to it. The court may also give an advisory opinion upon any dispute or question referred to it by the council or by the assembly.

ARTICLE 15.—If there should arise between members of the League any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, which is not submitted to arbitration in accordance with Article 13, the members of the League agree that they will submit the matter to the council. Any party to the dispute may effect such submission by giving notice of the existence of the dispute to the Secretary General, who will make all necessary arrangements for a full investigation and consideration thereof.

For this purpose the parties to the dispute will communicate to the Secretary General, as promptly as possible, statements of their case with all the relevant facts and papers, and the council may forthwith direct the publication thereof.

The council shall endeavor to effect a settlement of the dispute, and if such efforts are successful, a statement shall be made public giving such facts and explanations regarding the dispute and the terms of settlement thereof as the council may deem appropriate.

If the dispute is not thus settled, the council either unanimously or by a majority vote shall make and publish a report containing a statement of the facts of the dispute and the recommendations which are deemed just and proper in regard thereto.

Any member of the League represented on the council may make public a statement of

the facts of the dispute and of its conclusions regarding the same.

If a report by the council is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the members of the League agree that they will not go to war with any party to the dispute which complies with the recommendations of the report.

If the council fails to reach a report which is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof, other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the members of the League reserve to themselves the right to take such action as they shall consider necessary for the maintenance of right and justice.

If the dispute between the parties is claimed by one of them, and is found by the council to arise out of a matter which by international law is solely within the domestic jurisdiction of that party, the council shall so report, and shall make no recommendation as to its settlement.

The council may in any case under this article refer the dispute to the assembly. The dispute shall be so referred at the request of either party to the dispute, provided that such request be made within fourteen days after the submission of the dispute to the council.

In any case referred to the assembly all the provisions of this article and of Article 12 relating to the action and powers of the council shall apply to the action and powers of the assembly, provided that a report made by the assembly, if concurred in by the representatives of those members of the League represented on the council and of a majority of the other members of the League, exclusive in each case of the representatives of the parties to the dispute, shall have the same force as a report by the council concurred in by all the members thereof other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute.

ARTICLE 16.—Should any member of the League resort to war in disregard of its covenants under Articles 12, 13, or 15, it shall ipso facto be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other members of the League, which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the covenant-breaking State, and the prevention of all financial, commercial, or personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking State and the nationals of any other State, whether a member of the League or not.

It shall be the duty of the council in such case to recommend to the several Governments concerned what effective military, naval or air force the members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the League.

The members of the League agree, further, that they will mutually support one another

in the financial and economic measures which are taken under this article, in order to minimize the loss and inconvenience resulting from the above measures, and that they will mutually support one another in resisting any special measures aimed at one of their number by the covenant-breaking State, and that they will take the necessary steps to afford passage through their territory to the forces of any of the members of the League which are co-operating to protect the covenants of the League.

Any member of the League which has violated any covenant of the League may be declared to be no longer a member of the League by a vote of the council concurred in by the representatives of all the other members of the League represented thereon.

ARTICLE 17.—In the event of a dispute between a member of the League and a State which is not a member of the League, or between States not members of the League, the State or States not members of the League shall be invited to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, upon such conditions as the council may deem just. If such invitation is accepted, the provisions of Articles 12 to 16 inclusive shall be applied with such modifications as may be deemed necessary by the council.

Upon such invitation being given the council shall immediately institute an inquiry into the circumstances of the dispute and recommend such action as may seem best and most effectual in the circumstances.

If a State so invited shall refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, and shall resort to war against a member of the League, the provisions of Article 16 shall be applicable as against the State taking such action.

If both parties to the dispute when so invited refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, the council may take such measures and make such recommendations as will prevent hostilities and will result in the settlement of the dispute.

ARTICLE 18.—Every treaty or international engagement entered into hereafter by any member of the League shall be forthwith registered with the Secretariat and shall as soon as possible be published by it. No such treaty or international engagement shall be binding until so registered.

ARTICLE 19.—The assembly may from time to time advise the reconsideration by members of the League of treaties which have become inapplicable and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world.

ARTICLE 20.—The members of the League severally agree that this covenant is accepted as abrogating all obligations or understandings inter se which are inconsistent with the terms thereof, and solemnly undertake that they will not hereafter enter into any en-

gements inconsistent with the terms thereof.

In case any member of the League shall, before becoming a member of the League, have undertaken any obligations inconsistent with the terms of this covenant, it shall be the duty of such member to take immediate steps to procure its release from such obligations.

ARTICLE 21.—Nothing in this covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements, such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe Doctrine, for securing the maintenance of peace.

ARTICLE 22.—To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this covenant.

The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples should be intrusted to advanced nations who by reason of their resources, their experience or their geographical position can best undertake this responsibility, and who are willing to accept it, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as mandatories on behalf of the League.

The character of the mandate must differ according to the stage of the development of the people, the geographical situation of the territory, its economic conditions and other similar circumstances.

Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the mandatory.

Other peoples, especially those of Central Africa, are at such a stage that the mandatory must be responsible for the administration of the territory under conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience and religion, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, the prohibition of abuses such as the slave trade, the arms traffic and the liquor traffic, and the prevention of the establishment of fortifications or military and naval bases and of military training of the natives for other than police purposes and the defense of territory, and will also secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other members of the League.

There are territories, such as Southwest

Africa and certain of the South Pacific islands, which, owing to the sparseness of their population or their small size, or their remoteness from the centres of civilization; or their geographical contiguity to the territory of the mandatory, and other circumstances, can be best administered under the laws of the mandatory as integral portions of its territory, subject to the safeguards above mentioned in the interests of the indigenous population.

In every case of mandate the mandatory shall render to the council an annual report in reference to the territory committed to its charge.

The degree of authority, control, or administration to be exercised by the mandatory shall, if not previously agreed upon by the members of the League, be explicitly defined in each case by the council.

A permanent commission shall be constituted to receive and examine the annual reports of the mandatories and to advise the council on all matters relating to the observance of the mandates.

ARTICLE 23.—Subject to and in accordance with the provisions of international conventions existing or hereafter to be agreed upon, the members of the League:

- (a) will endeavor to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labor for men, women, and children, both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend, and for that purpose will establish and maintain the necessary international organizations;
- (b) undertake to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territories under their control;
- (c) will intrust the League with the general supervision over the execution of agreements with regard to the traffic in women and children and the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs;
- (d) will intrust the League with the general supervision of the trade in arms and ammunition with the countries in which the control of this traffic is necessary in the common interest;
- (e) will make provision to secure and maintain freedom of communications and of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of all members of the League. In this connection the special necessities of the regions devastated during the war of 1914-1918 shall be borne in mind;
- (f) will endeavor to take steps in matters of international concern for the prevention and control of disease.

ARTICLE 24.—There shall be placed under the direction of the League all international bureaus already established by general treaties if the parties to such treaties consent. All such international bureaus and all commissions for the regulation of matters of inter-

national interest hereafter constituted shall be placed under the direction of the League.

In all matters of international interest which are regulated by general conventions but which are not placed under the control of international bureaus or commissions, the secretariat of the League shall, subject to the consent of the council and if desired by the parties, collect and distribute all relevant information and shall render any other assistance which may be necessary or desirable.

The council may include as part of the expenses of the secretariat the expenses of any bureau or commission which is placed under the direction of the League.

ARTICLE 25.—The members of the League agree to encourage and promote the establishment and co-operation of duly authorized voluntary national Red Cross organizations having as purposes the improvement of health, the prevention of disease, and the mitigation of suffering throughout the world.

ARTICLE 26.—Amendments to this covenant will take effect when ratified by the members of the League whose representatives compose the council and by a majority of the members of the League whose representatives compose the assembly.

No such amendment shall bind any member of the League which signifies its dissent therefrom, but in that case it shall cease to be a member of the League.

ANNEX

I. Original members of the League of Nations signatories of the treaty of peace.

United States of America.	Haiti.
Belgium.	Hedjaz.
Bolivia.	Honduras.
Brazil.	Italy.
British Empire.	Japan.
Canada.	Liberia.
Australia.	Nicaragua.
South Africa.	Panama.
New Zealand.	Peru.
India.	Poland.
China.	Portugal.
Cuba.	Rumania.
Ecuador.	Serb-Croat-Slovene State.
France.	Siam.
Greece.	Czecho-Slovakia.
Guatemala.	Uruguay.

States invited to accede to the covenant.

Argentine Republic.	Persia.
Chile.	Salvador.
Colombia.	Spain.
Denmark.	Sweden.
Netherlands.	Switzerland.
Norway.	Venezuela.
Paraguay.	

II. First Secretary General of the League of Nations.

The Honorable Sir James Eric Drummond, K. C. M. G., C. B.

PART II.—Boundaries of Germany

ARTICLE 27.—The boundaries of Germany will be determined as follows:

1. With Belgium: From the point common to the three frontiers of Belgium, Holland, and Germany, and in a southerly direction; the northeastern boundary of the former territory of neutral Moresnet, then the eastern boundary of the Kreis of Eupen, then the frontier between Belgium and the Kreis of Montjoie, then the northeastern and eastern boundary of the Kreis of Malmédy to its junction with the frontier of Luxembourg.

2. With Luxembourg: The frontier of the 3d August, 1914, to its junction with the frontier of France of the 18th July, 1870.

3. With France: The frontier of the 18th July, 1870, from Luxembourg to Switzerland, with the reservations made in Article 48 of Section 4 (Sarre Basin) of Part III.

4. With Switzerland: The present frontier.

5. With Austria: The frontier of the 3d August, 1914, from Switzerland to Czecho-slovakia is hereinafter defined.

6. With Czechoslovakia: The frontier of the 3d August, 1914, between Germany and Austria from its junction with the old administrative boundary separating Bohemia and the Province of Upper Austria to the point north of the salient of the old Province of Austrian Silesia situated at about eight kilometers east of Neustadt.

7. With Poland: From the point defined above to a point to be fixed on the ground about 2 kilometers east of Lorzendorf: the frontier as it will be fixed in accordance with Article 88 of the present treaty; thence in a northerly direction to the point where the administrative boundary of Posnania crosses the river Bartsch: a line to be fixed on the ground leaving the following places in Poland: Skorischau, Reichthal, Trembat-schau, Kunzendorf, Schleise, Gross Kosel, Schrelbersdorf, Rippin, Fürstlich-Niefken, Pawelau, Tscheschen, Konradau, Johannisdorf, Modzenowe, Bogdaj, and in Germany: Lorzendorf, Kaulwitz, Glausche, Dalbersdorf, Reesewitz, Stradam, Gross Nartenberg Kraschen, Neu Mittelwalde, Domaslawitz, Wedelsdorf, Tscheschen Hammer; thence the boundary of Posnania northwestward to the point where it cuts the Rawitsch-Herrnstadt railway; thence to the point where the administrative boundary of Posnania cuts the Reisen-Tschirnau road: a line to be fixed on the ground passing west of Triebusch and Gabel and east of Saborwitz; thence the administrative boundary of Posnania to its junction with the eastern boundary of the Kreis of Fraustadt;

Thence in a northwesterly direction to a point to be chosen on the road between the villages of Unruhstadt and Kopnitz: a line

to be fixed on the ground passing west of Geyersdorf, Brenno, Fehlen, Altkloster, Klebel, and east of Ulbersdorf, Buchwald, Ilgen, Weine, Lupitze, Schwenten; thence in a northerly direction to the northernmost point of Lake Chlop: a line to be fixed on the ground following the median line of the lakes; the town and the station of Bentschen, however, (including the junction of the lines Schwiebus-Bentschen and Züllichau-Bentschen,) remaining in Polish territory;

Thence in a northeasterly direction to the point of junction of the boundaries of the Kreise of Schwerin, Birnbaum, and Meseritz: a line to be fixed on the ground passing east of Betsche; thence in a northerly direction the boundary separating the Kreise of Schwerin and Birnbaum, then in an easterly direction the northern boundary of Posenania and to the point where it cuts the river Netze; thence upstream to its confluence with the Küddow: the course of the Netze; thence upstream to a point to be chosen about 6 kilometers southeast of Schneidemühl: the course of the Küddow;

Thence northeastward to the most southern point of the re-entrant of the northern boundary of Posenania about 5 kilometers west of Stahren: a line to be fixed on the ground leaving the Schneidemühl-Konitz railway in this area entirely in German territory; thence the boundary of Posenania north-eastward to the point of the salient it makes about 15 kilometers east of Flatow; thence northeastward to the point where the river Kamionka meets the southern boundary of the Kreis of Konitz about 3 kilometers northeast of Grunau: a line to be fixed on the ground leaving the following places to Poland: Jasdrawo, Gr. Lutau, Kl. Lutau and Wittkau, and to Germany: Gr. Butzig, Cziskowo, Battow, Böch, and Grunau;

Thence in a northerly direction the boundary between the Kreise of Konitz and Schlochau to the point where this boundary cuts the river Brahe; thence to a point on the boundary of Pomerania 15 kilometers east of Rummelsburg: a line to be fixed on the ground leaving the following localities in Poland: Konarzin, Kelpin, Adl. Briesen, and in Germany: Sampohl, Neuguth, Steinfurt, and Gr. Peterkau; then the boundary of Pomerania in an easterly direction to its junction with the boundary between the kowo, Battow, Böch, and Grunau;

Thence northward the boundary between Pomerania and West Prussia to the point on the river Rheda about 3 kilometers northwest of Gohra, where that river is joined by a tributary from the northwest; thence to a point to be selected in the bend of the Plasnitz River about 1½ kilometers northwest of Warschkau: a line to be fixed on the ground; thence this river downstream, then the median line of Lake Zarnowitz, then the old boundary of West Prussia to the Baltic Sea.

8. With Denmark: The frontier as it will

be fixed in accordance with Articles 109 and 110 of Part III., Section XII., (Schleswig.)

ARTICLE 28.—The boundaries of East Prussia, with the reservations made in Section IX. (East Prussia) of Part III. will be determined as follows:

From a point on the coast of the Baltic Sea about 1½ kilometers north of Prübber-nau Church in a direction of about 159 degrees east from true north: A line to be fixed on the ground for about 2 kilometers, thence in a straight line to the light at the bend of the Elbinger Channel in approximately latitude 54.19½ north, longitude 19.26 east of Greenwich;

Thence to the easternmost mouth of the Nogat River at a bearing of approximately 209 degrees east from true north;

Thence up the course of the Nogat River to the point where the latter leaves the Vistula, (Weichsel);

Thence up the principal channel of navigation of the Vistula, then the southern boundary of the Kreise of Marienwerder, then that of the Kreise of Rosenberg, eastward to the point where it meets the old boundary of East Prussia;

Thence the old boundary between East and West Prussia, then the boundary between the Kreise of Osterode and Neidenburg, then the course of the River Skottau down stream, then the course of the Neide up stream to a point situated about 5 kilometers west of Bialutten, being the nearest point to the old frontier of Russia, thence in an easterly direction to a point immediately south of the intersection of the road Neidenburg-Mlava with the old frontier of Russia;

A line to be fixed on the ground passing north of Bialutten;

Thence the old frontier of Russia to a point east of Schmalleningenken, then the principal channel of navigation of the Niemen (Memel) down stream, then the Skier-wieth arm of the delta to the Kurisches Haff;

Thence a straight line to the point where the eastern shore of the Kurische Nehrung meets the administrative boundary about 4 kilometers southwest of Nidden;

Thence this administrative boundary to the western shore of the Kurische Nehrung.

ARTICLE 29.—The boundaries as described above are drawn in red on a one-in-a-million map which is annexed to the present treaty. (Map No. 1.)

In the case of any discrepancies between the text of the treaty and this map or any other map which may be annexed, the text will be final.

ARTICLE 30.—In the case of boundaries which are defined by a waterway, the terms "course" and "channel" used in the present treaty signify: in the case of non-navigable rivers, the median line of the waterway or of its principal arm, and in the case of navigable rivers the median line of the principal channel of navigation. It will

rest with the boundary commissions provided by the present treaty to specify in each case whether the frontier line shall follow any changes of the course or channel which

may take place or whether it shall be definitely fixed by the position of the course or channel at the time when the present treaty comes into force.

PART III.—Political Clauses for Europe

SECTION I.—Belgium

ARTICLE 31.—Germany, recognizing that the treaties of April 19, 1839, which established the status of Belgium before the war, no longer conform to the requirements of the situation, consents to the abrogation of the said treaties and undertakes immediately to recognize and to observe whatever conventions may be entered into by the principal allied and associated powers, or by any of them in concert with the Governments of Belgium and of the Netherlands, to replace the said treaties of 1839. If her formal adhesion should be required to such conventions or to any of their stipulations, Germany undertakes immediately to give it.

ARTICLE 32.—Germany recognizes the full sovereignty of Belgium over the whole of the contested territory of Moresnet, (called Moresnet Neutre.)

ARTICLE 33.—Germany renounces in favor of Belgium all rights and title over the territory of Prussian Moresnet situated on the west of the road from Liège to Aix-la-Chapelle: the road will belong to Belgium where it bounds this territory.

ARTICLE 34.—Germany renounces in favor of Belgium all rights and title over the territory comprising the whole of the Kreise of Eupen and of Malmédy.

During the six months after the coming into force of this treaty, registers will be opened by the Belgian authorities at Eupen and Malmédy in which the inhabitants of the above territory will be entitled to record in writing a desire to see the whole or part of it remain under Germany sovereignty.

The results of this public expression of opinion will be communicated by the Belgian Government to the League of Nations, and Belgium undertakes to accept the decision of the League.

ARTICLE 35.—A commission of seven persons, five of whom will be appointed by the principal allied and associated powers, one by Germany and one by Belgium, will be set up fifteen days after the coming into force of the present treaty to settle on the spot the new frontier line between Belgium and Germany, taking into account the economic factors and the means of communication.

Decisions will be taken by a majority and will be binding on the parties concerned.

ARTICLE 36.—When the transfer of the sovereignty over the territories referred to above has become definitive, German nationals habitually resident in the territories will

definitively acquire Belgian nationality ipso facto, and will lose their German nationality.

Nevertheless German nationals who become resident in the territories after the 1st August, 1914, shall not obtain Belgian nationality without a permit from the Belgian Government.

ARTICLE 37.—Within the two years following the definitive transfer of the sovereignty over the territories assigned to Belgium under the present treaty, German nationals over 18 years of age habitually resident in those territories will be entitled to opt for German nationality.

Option by a husband will cover his wife, and option by parents will cover their children under 18 years of age.

Persons who have exercised the above right to opt must within the ensuing twelve months transfer their place of residence to Germany.

They will be entitled to retain their immovable property in the territories acquired by Belgium. They may carry with them their movable property of every description. No export or import duties may be imposed upon them in connection with the removal of such property.

ARTICLE 38.—The German Government will hand over without delay to the Belgian Government the archives, registers, plans, title deeds and documents of every kind concerning the civil, military, financial, judicial or other administrations in the territory transferred to Belgian sovereignty.

The German Government will likewise restore to the Belgian Government the archives and documents of every kind carried off during the war by the German authorities from the Belgian public administrations, in particular from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at Brussels.

ARTICLE 39.—The proportion and nature of the financial liabilities of Germany and of Prussia which Belgium will have to bear on account of the territories ceded to her shall be fixed in conformity with Articles 254 and 256 of Part IX. (financial clauses) of the present treaty.

SECTION II.—Luxemburg

ARTICLE 40.—With regard to the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, Germany renounces the benefit of all the provisions inserted in her favor in the treaties of Feb. 8, 1842; April 2, 1847; Oct. 20-25, 1865; Aug. 18, 1866; Feb. 21 and May 11, 1867; May 10, 1871; June 11, 1872, and Nov. 11, 1902, and in all conventions consequent upon such treaties.

Germany recognizes that the Grand Duchy

of Luxemburg ceased to form part of the German Zollverein as from Jan 1, 1919; renounces all right to the exploitation of the railways, adheres to the termination of the régime of neutrality of the Grand Duchy, and accepts in advance all international arrangements which may be concluded by the Allied and Associated Powers relating to the Grand Duchy.

ARTICLE 41.—Germany undertakes to grant to the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, when a demand to that effect is made to her by the principal Allied and Associated Powers, the rights and advantages stipulated in favor of such powers or their nationals in the present treaty, with regard to economic questions, to questions relative to transport and to aerial navigation.

SECTION III.—*Left Bank of the Rhine*

ARTICLE 42.—Germany is forbidden to maintain or construct any fortifications either on the left bank of the Rhine or on the right bank to the west of a line drawn fifty kilometers to the east of the Rhine.

ARTICLE 43.—In the area defined above the maintenance and the assembly of armed forces either permanently or temporarily, and military manoeuvres of any kind, as well as the upkeep of all permanent works for mobilization, are in the same way forbidden.

ARTICLE 44.—In case Germany violates in any manner the provisions of Articles 42 and 43, she shall be regarded as committing a hostile act against the powers signatory of the present treaty and as calculated to disturb the peace of the world.

SECTION IV.—*Sarre Basin*

ARTICLE 45.—As compensation for the destruction of the coal mines in the North of France and as part payment toward the total reparation due from Germany for the damage resulting from the war, Germany cedes to France in full and absolute possession, with exclusive rights of exploitation, unincumbered and free from all debts and charges of any kind, the coal mines situated in the Sarre Basin as defined in Article 48.

ARTICLE 46.—In order to assure the rights and welfare of the population and to guarantee to France complete freedom in working the mines, Germany agrees to the provisions of Chapters 1 and 2 of the annex hereto.

ARTICLE 47.—In order to make in due time permanent provision for the government of the Sarre Basin in accordance with the wishes of the population, France and Germany agree to the provisions of Chapter 3 of the annex hereto.

ARTICLE 48.—The boundaries of the territory of the Sarre Basin, as dealt with in the present stipulations, will be fixed as follows:

On the south and southwest: By the frontier of France as fixed by the present treaty.

On the northwest and north: By a line following the northern administrative boundary of the Kreis of Merzig from the point where it leaves the French frontier to the point where it meets the administrative boundary, separating the commune of Saarhölzbach from the commune of Britten; following this communal boundary southward and reaching the administrative boundary of the Canton of Merzig so as to include in the territory of the Sarre Basin the Canton of Mettlach, with the exception of the commune of Britten; following successively the northern administrative limits of the Cantons of Merzig and Haustadt, which are incorporated in the aforesaid Sarre Basin, then successively the administrative boundaries separating the Kreise of Saarlouis, Ottweiler, and Saint Wendel from the Kreise of Merzig, Treves, (Trier,) and the principality of Birkenfeld as far as a point situated about 500 meters north of the village of Furschweiler, (viz.: The highest point of the Metzelberg.)

On the northeast and east: From the last point defined above to a point about $3\frac{1}{2}$ kilometers east-northeast of Saint Wendel:

A line to be fixed on the ground passing east of Furschweiler, west of Roschberg, east of points 418, 329, (south of Roschberg,) west of Leitersweiler, northeast of point 464, and following the line of the crest southward to its junction with the administrative boundary of the Kreis of Kusel;

Thence in a southerly direction the boundary of the Kreis of Kusel, then the boundary of the Kreis of Homburg toward the south-southeast to a point situated about 1,000 meters west of Dunzweiler;

Thence to a point about one kilometer south of Hornbach: a line to be fixed on the ground passing through point 424, (about 1,000 meters southeast of Dunzweiler,) point 363, (Fuchsberg,) point 322, (southwest of Waldmohr,) then east of Jägersburg and Erbach, then encircling Homburg, passes through the points 361, (about $2\frac{1}{4}$ kilometers northeast by east of that town,) 342, (about 2 kilometers southeast of that town,) 347, (Schreinersberg,) 356, 350, (about $1\frac{1}{4}$ kilometers southeast of Schwarzenbach,) then passing east of Einöd, southeast of points 322 and 333, about 2 kilometers east of Webenheim, about 2 kilometers east of Mimbach, passing east of the plateau which is traversed by the road from Mimbach to Böckweiler, (so as to include this road in the territory of the Sarre Basin,) passing immediately north of the junction of the roads from Böckweiler and Altheim, situated about 2 kilometers north of Altheim, then passing south of Ringweilderhof and north of point 322, rejoining the frontier of France at the angle which it makes about 1 kilometer south of Hornbach, (see map No. 2, scale 1-100,000, annexed to the present treaty.)

A commission composed of five members, one appointed by France, one by Germany, and three by the Council of the League of

Nations, which will select nationals of other powers, will be constituted within fifteen days from the coming into force of the present treaty, to trace on the spot the frontier line described above. In those parts of the preceding line which do not coincide with administration boundaries, the commission will endeavor to keep to the line indicated, while taking into consideration, so far as is possible, local economic interests and existing communal boundaries.

The decisions of this commission will be taken by a majority and will be binding on the parties concerned.

ARTICLE 49.—Germany renounces in favor of the League of Nations, in the capacity of trustee, the government of the territory defined above.

At the end of fifteen years from the coming into force of the present treaty the inhabitants of the said territory shall be called upon to indicate the sovereignty under which they desire to be placed.

ARTICLE 50.—The stipulations under which the cession of the mines in the Sarre Basin shall be carried out, together with the measures intended to guarantee the rights and the well-being of the inhabitants and the government of the territory, as well as the conditions in accordance with which the plebiscite hereinbefore provided for is to be made, are laid down in the annex hereto. This annex shall be considered as an integral part of the present treaty, and Germany declares her adherence to it.

ANNEX

In accordance with the provisions of Articles 45 to 50 of the present treaty, the stipulations under which the cession by Germany to France of the mines of the Sarre Basin will be effected, as well as the measures intended to insure respect for the rights and well-being of the population and the government of the territory, and the conditions in which the inhabitants will be called upon to indicate the sovereignty under which they may wish to be placed, have been laid down as follows:

CHAPTER I.—CESSION AND EXPLOITATION OF MINING PROPERTY

1. From the date of the coming into force of the present treaty, all the deposits of coal situated within the Sarre Basin, as defined in Article 48 of the said treaty, become the complete and absolute property of the French State.

The French State will have the right of working or not working the said mines or of transferring to a third party the right of working them, without having to obtain any previous authorization or to fulfill any formalities.

The French State may always require that the German mining laws and regulations re-

ferred to below shall be applied in order to insure the determination of its rights.

2. The right of ownership of the French State will apply not only to the deposits which are free, and for which concessions have not yet been granted, but also to the deposits for which concessions have already been granted, whoever may be the present proprietors, irrespective of whether they belong to the Prussian State, to the Bavarian State, to other States or bodies, to companies or to individuals, whether they have been worked or not, or whether a right of exploitation distinct from the right of the owners of the surface of the soil has or has not been recognized.

3. As far as concerns the mines which are being worked, the transfer of the ownership to the French State will apply to all the accessories and subsidiaries of the said mines, in particular to their plant and equipment both on and below the surface, to their extracting machinery, their plants for transforming coal into electric power, coke and by-products, their workshops, means of communication, electric lines, plant for catching and distributing water, land, buildings, such as offices, managers', employees', and workmen's dwellings, schools, hospitals, and dispensaries, their stocks and supplies of every description, their archives and plans, and in general everything which those who own or exploit the mines possess or enjoy for the purpose of exploiting the mines and their accessories and subsidiaries.

The transfer will apply also to the debts owing for products delivered before the entry into possession by the French State, and after the signature of the present treaty, and to deposits of money made by customers, whose rights will be guaranteed by the French State.

4. The French State will acquire the property free and clear of all debts and charges. Nevertheless the rights acquired, or in course of being acquired, by the employees of the mines and their accessories and subsidiaries at the date of the coming into force of the present treaty, in connection with pensions for old age or disability, will not be affected. In return, Germany must pay over to the French State a sum representing the actuarial amounts to which the said employees are entitled.

5. The value of the property thus ceded to the French State will be determined by the Reparation Commission referred to in Article 233 of Part VIII. (Reparations) of the present treaty.

This value shall be credited to Germany in part payment of the amount due for reparation.

It will be for Germany to indemnify the proprietors or parties concerned, whoever they may be.

6. No tariff shall be established on the German railways and canals which may directly or indirectly discriminate to the prejudice of the transport of the personnel or

products of the mines and their accessories or subsidiaries, or of the material necessary to their exploitation. Such transport shall enjoy all the rights and privileges which any international railway conventions may guarantee to similar products of French origin.

7. The equipment and personnel necessary to insure the dispatch and transport of the products of the mines and their accessories and subsidiaries, as well as the carriage of workmen and employees, will be provided by the local railway administration of the basin.

8. No obstacle shall be placed in the way of such improvements of railways or waterways as the French State may judge necessary to assure the dispatch and transport of the products of the mines and their accessories and subsidiaries, such as double trackage, enlargement of stations, and construction of yards and appurtenances.

The distribution of expenses will, in the event of disagreement, be submitted to arbitration.

The French State may also establish any new means of communication, such as roads, electric lines, and telephone connections, which it may consider necessary for the exploitation of the mines.

It may exploit freely and without any restrictions the means of communication of which it may become the owner, particularly those connecting the mines and their accessories and subsidiaries with the means of communication situated in French territory.

9. The French State shall always be entitled to demand the application of the German mining laws and regulations in force on the 11th November, 1918, excepting provisions adopted exclusively in view of the state of war, with a view to the acquisition of such land as it may judge necessary for the exploitation of the mines and their accessories and subsidiaries.

The payment for damage caused to immovable property by the working of the said mines and their accessories and subsidiaries shall be made in accordance with the German mining laws and regulations above referred to.

10. Every person whom the French State may substitute for itself as regards the whole or part of its rights to the exploitation of the mines and their accessories and subsidiaries shall enjoy the benefit of the privileges provided in this annex.

11. The mines and other immovable property which become the property of the French State may never be made the subject of measures of forfeiture, forced sale, expropriation or requisition, nor of any other measure affecting the right of property.

The personnel and the plant connected with the exploitation of these mines or their accessories and subsidiaries, as well as the product extracted from the mines or manufactured in their accessories and subsidiaries, may not at any time be made the subject of any measures of requisition.

12. The exploitation of the mines and their

accessories and subsidiaries, which become the property of the French State, will continue, subject to the provisions of Paragraph 23 below, to be subject to the régime established by the German laws and regulations in force on the 11th November, 1918, excepting provisions adopted exclusively in view of the state of war.

The rights of the workmen shall be similarly maintained, subject to the provisions of the said Paragraph 23, as established on the 11th November, 1918, by the German laws and regulations above referred to. No impediment shall be placed in the way of the introduction or employment in the mines and their accessories and subsidiaries of workmen from without the basin.

The employees and workmen of French nationality shall have the right to belong to French labor unions.

13. The amount contributed by the mines and their accessories and subsidiaries, either to the local budget of the territory of the Sarre Basin or to the communal funds, shall be fixed with due regard to the ratio of the value of the mines to the total taxable wealth of the basin.

14. The French State shall always have the right of establishing and maintaining, as incidental to the mines, primary or technical schools for its employees and their children, and of causing instruction therein to be given in the French language, in accordance with such curriculum and by such teachers as it may select.

It shall also have the right to establish and maintain hospitals, dispensaries, workmen's houses and gardens, and other charitable and social institutions.

15. The French State shall enjoy complete liberty with respect to the distribution, dispatch, and sale prices of the products of the mines and their accessories and subsidiaries.

Nevertheless, whatever may be the total product of the mines, the French Government undertakes that the requirements of local consumption for industrial and domestic purposes shall always be satisfied in the proportion existing in 1913 between the amount consumed locally and the total output of the Sarre Basin.

CHAPTER II.—GOVERNMENT OF THE TERRITORY OF THE SARRE BASIN

16. The government of the territory of the Sarre Basin shall be intrusted to a commission representing the League of Nations. This commission shall sit in the territory of the Sarre Basin.

17. The Governing Commission provided for by Paragraph 16 shall consist of five members chosen by the Council of the League of Nations, and will include one citizen of France, one native inhabitant of the Sarre Basin not a citizen of France, and three members belonging to three countries other than France or Germany.

The members of the Governing Commission

shall be appointed for one year and may be reappointed. They can be removed by the Council of the League of Nations, which will provide for their replacement. The members of the Governing Commission will be entitled to a salary which will be fixed by the Council of the League of Nations, and charged on the local revenues.

18. The Chairman of the Governing Commission shall be appointed for one year from among the members of the commission by the Council of the League of Nations and may be reappointed. The Chairman will act as the executive of the commission.

19. Within the territory of the Sarre Basin the Governing Commission shall have all the powers of government hitherto belonging to the German Empire, Prussia or Bavaria, including the appointment and dismissal of officials, and the creation of such administrative and representative bodies as it may deem necessary. It shall have full powers to administer and operate the railways, canals, and the different public services.

Its decisions shall be taken by a majority.

20. Germany will place at the disposal of the Governing Commission all official documents and archives under the control of Germany, of any German State, or of any local authority, which relate to the territory of the Sarre Basin or to the rights of the inhabitants thereof.

21. It will be the duty of the Governing Commission to insure, by such means and under such conditions as it may deem suitable, the protection abroad of the interests of the inhabitants of the territory of the Sarre Basin.

22. The Governing Commission shall have the full right of user of all property, other than mines, belonging, both in public and in private domain, to the Imperial German Government, or the Government of any German State, in the territory of the Sarre Basin.

As regards the railways, an equitable apportionment of rolling stock shall be made by a mixed commission on which the government of the territory of the Sarre Basin and the German railways will be represented.

Persons, goods, vessels, carriages, wagons, and mails, coming from or going to the Sarre Basin, shall enjoy all the rights and privileges relating to transit and transport which are specified in the provisions of Part XII. (ports, waterways, railways) of the present treaty.

23. The laws and regulations in force on Nov. 11, 1918, in the territory of the Sarre Basin, (except those enacted in consequence of the state of war,) shall continue to apply. If, for general reasons or to bring these laws and regulations into accord with the provisions of the present treaty, it is necessary to introduce modifications, these shall be decided on, and put into effect by the Governing Commission, after consultation with the elected representatives of the inhabitants in such a manner as the commission may deter-

mine. No modification may be made in the legal régime for the exploitation of the mines, provided for in Paragraph 12, without the French State being previously consulted, unless such modification results from a general regulation respecting labor adopted by the League of Nations.

In fixing the conditions and hours of labor for men, women, and children, the Governing Commission is to take into consideration the wishes expressed by the local labor organizations, as well as the principles adopted by the League of Nations.

24. Subject to the provisions of Paragraph 4, no rights of the inhabitants of the Sarre Basin acquired or in process of acquisition at the date of the coming into force of this treaty, in respect of any insurance system of Germany, or in respect of any pension of any kind, are affected by any of the provisions of the present treaty.

Germany and the Government of the territory of the Sarre Basin will preserve and continue all of the aforesaid rights.

25. The civil and criminal courts existing in the territory of the Sarre Basin shall continue.

A civil and criminal court will be established by the Governing Commission to hear appeals from the decisions of the said courts, and to decide matters for which these courts are not competent.

The Governing Commission will be responsible for settling the organization and jurisdiction of the said court.

Justice will be rendered in the name of the Governing Commission.

26. The Governing Commission will alone have the power of levying taxes and dues in the territory of the Sarre Basin.

These taxes and dues will be exclusively applied to the needs of the territory.

The fiscal system existing on Nov. 11, 1918, will be maintained as far as possible, and no new tax except customs duties may be imposed without previously consulting the elected representatives of the inhabitants.

27. The present stipulations will not affect the existing nationality of the inhabitants of the territory of the Sarre Basin. No hindrance shall be placed in the way of those who wish to acquire a different nationality, but in such case the acquisition of the new nationality will involve the loss of any other.

28. Under the control of the Governing Commission the inhabitants will retain their local assemblies, their religious liberties, their schools, and their language. The right of voting will not be exercised for any assemblies other than the local assemblies, and will belong to every inhabitant over the age of 20 years without distinction of sex.

29. Any of the inhabitants of the Sarre Basin who may desire to leave the territory will have full liberty to retain in it their immovable property or to sell it at fair prices and to remove their movable property free of any charges.

30. There will be no military service,

whether compulsory or voluntary, in the territory of the Sarre Basin, and the construction of fortifications therein is forbidden. Only a local gendarmerie for the maintenance of order may be established. It will be the duty of the Governing Commission to provide in all cases for the protection of persons and property in the Sarre Basin.

31. The territory of the Sarre Basin as defined by Article 48 of the present treaty shall be subjected to the French customs régime. The receipts from the customs duties on goods intended for local consumption shall be included in the budget of the said territory after deduction of all costs of collection. No export tax shall be imposed upon metallurgical products or coal exported from the said territory to Germany, nor upon German exports for the use of the industries of the territory of the Sarre Basin. Natural or manufactured products originating in the basin in transit over German territory and similarly German products in transit over the territory of the basin shall be free of all customs duties.

Products which both originate in and pass from the basin into Germany shall be free of import duties for a period of five years from the date of the coming into force of the present treaty, and during the same period articles imported from Germany into the territory of the basin for local consumption shall likewise be free of import duties.

During these five years the French Government reserves to itself the right of limiting to the annual average of the quantities imported into Alsace-Lorraine and France in the years 1911 to 1913 the quantities which may be sent into France of all articles coming from the basin, which include raw materials and semi-manufactured goods imported duty free from Germany. Such average shall be determined after reference to all available official information and statistics.

32. No prohibition or restriction shall be imposed upon the circulation of French money in the territory of the Sarre Basin. The French State shall have the right to use French money in all purchases, payments, and contracts connected with the exploitation of the mines or their accessories and subsidiaries.

33. The Governing Commission shall have power to decide all questions arising from the interpretation of the preceding provisions. France and Germany agree that any dispute involving a difference of opinion as to the interpretation of the said provisions shall in the same way be submitted to the Governing Commission, and the decision of a majority of the commission shall be binding on both countries.

CHAPTER III.—PLEBISCITE

34. At the termination of a period of fifteen years from the coming into force of the present treaty, the population of the territory of the Sarre Basin will be called upon to

indicate their desires in the following manner:

A vote will take place, by communes or districts, on the three following alternatives: (a) Maintenance of the régime established by the present treaty and by this annex; (b) union with France; (c) union with Germany.

All persons without distinction of sex, more than 20 years old at the date of the voting, resident in the territory at the date of the signature of the present treaty, will have the right to vote.

The other conditions, methods, and the date of the voting shall be fixed by the Council of the League of Nations in such a way as to secure the liberty, secrecy, and trustworthiness of the voting.

35. The League of Nations shall decide on the sovereignty under which the territory is to be placed, taking into account the wishes of the inhabitants as expressed by the voting.

(a) If, for the whole or part of the territory, the League of Nations decides in favor of the maintenance of the régime established by the present treaty and this annex, Germany hereby agrees to make such renunciation of her sovereignty in favor of the League of Nations as the latter shall deem necessary. It will be the duty of the League of Nations to take appropriate steps to adapt the régime definitely adopted to the permanent welfare of the territory and the general interests.

(b) If for the whole or part of the territory the League of Nations decides in favor of union with France, Germany hereby agrees to cede to France in accordance with the decision of the League of Nations all rights and title over the territory specified by the League.

(c) If for the whole or part of the territory the League of Nations decides in favor of union with Germany, it will be the duty of the League of Nations to cause the German Government to be re-established in the government of the territory specified by the League.

36. If the League of Nations decides in favor of the union of the whole or part of the territory of the Sarre Basin with Germany, France's rights of ownership in the mines situated in such part of the territory will be repurchased by Germany in their entirety at a price payable in gold. The price to be paid will be fixed by three experts, one nominated by Germany, one by France, and one, who shall be neither a Frenchman nor a German, by the Council of the League of Nations. The decision of the experts will be given by a majority.

The obligation of Germany to make such payment shall be taken into account by the Reparation Commission, and for the purpose of this payment Germany may create a prior charge upon her assets or revenues upon such detailed terms as shall be agreed to by the Reparation Commission.

If, nevertheless, Germany after a period of one year from the date on which the payment becomes due shall not have effected the said payment, the Reparation Commission shall do so in accordance with such instructions as may be given by the League of Nations, and, if necessary, by liquidating that part of the mines which is in question.

37. If, in consequence of the repurchase provided for in Paragraph 36, the ownership of the mines or any part of them is transferred to Germany, the French State and French nationals shall have the right to purchase such amount of coal of the Sarre Basin as their industrial and domestic needs are found at that time to require. An equitable arrangement regarding amounts of coal, duration of contract, and prices will be fixed in due time by the Council of the League of Nations.

38. It is understood that France and Germany may, by special agreements concluded before the time fixed for the payment of the price for the repurchase of the mines, modify the provisions of Paragraphs 36 and 37.

39. The Council of the League of Nations shall make such provisions as may be necessary for the establishment of the régime which is to take effect after the decisions of the League of Nations mentioned in Paragraph 35 have become operative, including an equitable apportionment of any obligations of the Government of the territory of the Sarre Basin arising from loans raised by the commission or from other causes.

From the coming into force of the new régime, the powers of the Governing Commission will terminate, except in the case provided for in Paragraph 35. (a)

40. In all matters dealt with in the present annex, the decisions of the Council of the League of Nations will be taken by a majority.

SECTION V.—*Alsace-Lorraine*

The high contracting powers, recognizing the moral obligation to redress the wrong done by Germany in 1871, both to the rights of France and to the wishes of the population of Alsace and Lorraine, which were separated from their country in spite of solemn protests of their representatives at the Assembly of Bordeaux, agree upon the following articles:

ARTICLE 51.—The territories which were ceded to Germany in accordance with the preliminaries of peace signed at Versailles on the 26th February, 1871, and the treaty of Frankfurt on the 10th May, 1871, are restored to French sovereignty as from the date of the armistice of the 11th November, 1918.

The provisions of the treaties establishing the delimitation of the frontiers before 1871 shall be restored.

ARTICLE 52.—The German Government shall hand over without delay to the French Government all archives, registers, plans,

titles, and documents of every kind concerning the civil, military, financial, judicial, or other administrations of the territories restored to French sovereignty. If any of these documents, archives, registers, titles, or plans have been misplaced, they will be restored by the German Government on the demand of the French Government.

ARTICLE 53.—Separate agreements shall be made between France and Germany dealing with the interests of the inhabitants of the territories referred to in Article 51, particularly as regards their civil rights, their business and the exercise of their professions, it being understood that Germany undertakes as from the present date to recognize and accept the regulations laid down in the annex hereto regarding the nationality of the inhabitants or natives of the said territories, not to claim at any time or in any place whatsoever as German nationals those who shall have been declared on any ground to be French, to receive all others in her territory, and to conform, as regards the property of German nationals in the territories indicated in Article 51, with the provisions of Article 297, and the Annex to Section 4 of Part X. (economic clauses) of the present treaty.

Those German nationals who without acquiring French nationality shall receive permission from the French Government to reside in the said territories shall not be subjected to the provisions of the said article.

ARTICLE 54.—Those persons who have regained French nationality in virtue of Paragraph 1 of the annex hereto, will be held to be Alsace-Lorrainers for the purposes of the present section.

The persons referred to in Paragraph 2 of the said annex will, from the day on which they have claimed French nationality, be held to be Alsace-Lorrainers with retroactive effect as from the 11th November, 1918. From those whose application is rejected, the privilege will terminate at the date of the refusal.

Such juridical persons will also have the status of Alsace-Lorrainers as have been recognized as possessing this quality, whether by the French administrative authorities or by a judicial decision.

ARTICLE 55.—The territories referred to in Article 51 shall return to France, free and quit of all public debts under the conditions laid down in Article 255 of Part IX. (financial clauses) of the present treaty.

ARTICLE 56.—In conformity with the provisions of Article 256 of Part IX. (financial clauses) of the present treaty, France shall enter into possession of all property and estate within the territories referred to in Article 51, which belong to the German Empire or German States, without any payment or credit on this account to any of the States ceding the territories.

This provision applies to all movable or immovable property of public or private domain, together with all rights whatsoever

belonging to the German Empire or the German States or to their administrative areas.

Crown property and the property of the former Emperor or other German sovereigns shall be assimilated to property of the public domain.

ARTICLE 57.—Germany shall not take any action, either by means of stamping or by any other legal or administrative measures not applying equally to the rest of her territory, which may be to the detriment of the legal value or redeemability of German monetary instruments or moneys which at the date of the signature of the present treaty are legally current, and at that date are in the possession of the French Government.

ARTICLE 58.—A special convention will determine the conditions for repayment in marks of the exceptional war expenditure advanced during the course of the war by Alsace-Lorraine or by public bodies in Alsace-Lorraine on account of the empire in accordance with German law, such as payment to the families of persons mobilized, requisitions, billeting of troops, and assistance to persons who have been expelled. In fixing the amount of these sums Germany shall be credited with that portion which Alsace-Lorraine would have contributed to the empire to meet the expenses resulting from these payments, this contribution being calculated according to the proportion of the imperial revenues derived from Alsace-Lorraine in 1913.

ARTICLE 59.—The French Government will collect for its own account the imperial taxes, duties, and dues of every kind leviable in the territories referred to in Article 51 and not collected at the time of the armistice of the 11th November, 1918.

ARTICLE 60.—The German Government shall without delay restore to Alsace-Lorrainers, (individuals, juridical persons, and public institutions,) all property, rights, and interests belonging to them on the 11th November, 1918, in so far as these are situated in German territory.

ARTICLE 61.—The German Government undertakes to continue and complete without delay the execution of the financial clauses regarding Alsace-Lorraine contained in the armistice conventions.

ARTICLE 62.—The German Government undertakes to bear the expense of all civil and military pensions which had been earned in Alsace-Lorraine on the date of the 11th November, 1918, and the maintenance of which was a charge on the budget of the German Empire.

The German Government shall furnish each year the funds necessary for the payment in francs, at the average rate of exchange for that year, of the sums in marks to which persons resident in Alsace-Lorraine would have been entitled if Alsace-Lorraine had remained under German jurisdiction.

ARTICLE 63.—For the purposes of the obligation assumed by Germany in Part VIII.

(reparations) of the present treaty to give compensation for damages caused to the civil populations of the Allied and Associated countries in the form of fines, the inhabitants of the territories referred to in Article 51 shall be assimilated to the above mentioned populations.

ARTICLE 64.—The regulations concerning the control of the Rhine and of the Moselle are laid down in Part XII. (ports, waterways, and railways) of the present treaty.

ARTICLE 65.—Within a period of three weeks after the coming into force of the present treaty the Port of Strasbourg and the port of Kehl shall be constituted, for a period of seven years, a single unit from the point of view of exploitation.

The administration of this single unit will be carried on by a manager named by the Central Rhine Commission, which shall also have power to remove him. He shall be of French nationality. He will reside in Strasbourg and will be subject to the supervision of the Central Rhine Commission.

There will be established in the two ports free zones in conformity with Part XII. (ports, waterways, and railways) of the present treaty.

A special convention between France and Germany, which shall be submitted to the approval of the Central Rhine Commission, will fix the details of this organization, particularly as regards finance.

It is understood that for the purpose of the present article the port of Kehl includes the whole of the area necessary for the movements of the port and the trains which serve it, including the harbor, quays and railroads, platforms, cranes, sheds and warehouses, silos, elevators and hydro-electric plants, which make up the equipment of the port.

The German Government undertakes to carry out all measures which shall be required of it in order to assure that all the making up and switching of trains arriving at or departing from Kehl, whether for the right bank or the left bank of the Rhine, shall be carried on in the best conditions possible.

All property rights shall be safeguarded. In particular, the administration of the ports shall not prejudice any property rights of the French or Baden railroads.

Equality of treatment as respects traffic shall be assured in both ports to the nationals, vessels, and goods of every country.

In case at the end of the sixth year France shall consider that the progress made in the improvement of the Port of Strasbourg still requires a prolongation of this temporary régime, she may ask for such prolongation from the Central Rhine Commission, which may grant an extension for a period not exceeding three years.

Throughout the whole period of any such extension the free zones above provided for shall be maintained.

Pending appointment of the first manager by the Central Rhine Commission, a pro-

visional manager, who shall be of French nationality, may be appointed by the principal Allied and Associated Powers, subject to the foregoing provisions.

For all purposes of the present article the Central Rhine Commission will decide by a majority of votes.

ARTICLE 66.—The railway and other bridges across the Rhine now existing within the limits of Alsace-Lorraine shall, as to all their parts and their whole length, be the property of the French State, which shall insure their upkeep.

ARTICLE 67.—The French Government is substituted in all the rights of the German Empire over all the railways which were administered by the Imperial Railway Administration, and which are actually working or under construction.

The same shall apply to the rights of the empire with regard to railway and tramway concessions within the territories referred to in Article 51.

This substitution shall not entail any payment on the part of the French State.

The frontier railway stations shall be established by a subsequent agreement, it being stipulated in advance that on the Rhine frontier they shall be situated on the right bank.

ARTICLE 68.—In accordance with the provisions of Article 268 of Chapter I. of Section I. of Part X. (economic clauses) of the present treaty, for a period of five years from the coming into force of the present treaty, natural or manufactured products originating in and coming from the territories referred to in Article 51 shall, on importation into German customs territory, be exempt from all customs duty. The French Government shall fix each year, by decree communicated to the German Government, the nature and amount of the products which shall enjoy this exemption.

The amount of each product which may be thus sent annually into Germany shall not exceed the average of the amounts sent annually in the years 1911-1913.

Further, during the period of five years above mentioned, the German Government shall allow the free export from Germany and the free reimportation into Germany, exempt from all customs duties and other charges, (including internal charges,) of yarns, tissues, and other textile materials or textile products of any kind, and in any condition, sent from Germany into the territories referred to in Article 51, to be subjected there to any finishing process, such as bleaching, dyeing, printing, mercerization, gassing, twisting, or dressing.

ARTICLE 69.—During a period of ten years from the coming into force of the present treaty, central electric supply works situated in German territory, and formerly furnishing electric power to the territories referred to in Article 51, or to any establishment the working of which passes permanently or temporarily from Germany to France, shall be

required to continue such supply up to the amount of consumption corresponding to the undertakings and contracts current on the 11th November, 1918.

Such supply shall be furnished according to the contracts in force and at a rate which shall not be higher than that paid to the said works by German nationals.

ARTICLE 70.—It is understood that the French Government preserves its right to prohibit in the future in the territories referred to in Article 51 all new German participation:

1. In the management or exploitation of the public domain and of public services, such as railways, navigable waterways, water works, gas works, electric power, &c.

2. In the ownership of mines and quarries of every kind and in enterprises connected therewith;

3. In metallurgical establishments, even though their working may not be connected with that of any mine.

ARTICLE 71.—As regards the territories referred to in Article 51, Germany renounces on behalf of herself and her nationals as from the 11th November, 1918, all rights under the law of the 25th May, 1910, regarding the trade in potash salts and generally under any stipulations for the intervention of German organizations in the working of the potash mines. Similarly she renounces on behalf of herself and her nationals all rights under any agreements, stipulations or laws, which may exist to her benefit with regard to other products of the aforesaid territories.

ARTICLE 72.—The settlement of the questions relating to debts contracted before the 11th November, 1918, between the German Empire and the German States or their nationals residing in Germany on the one part, and Alsace-Lorrainers residing in Alsace-Lorraine on the other part, shall be effected in accordance with the provisions of Section III. of Part X. (economic clauses) of the present treaty, the expression "before the war" therein being replaced by the expression "before the 11th November, 1918." The rate of exchange applicable in the case of such settlement shall be the average rate quoted on the Geneva Exchange during the month preceding the 11th November, 1918. There may be established in the territories referred to in Article 51, for the settlement of the aforesaid debts under the conditions laid down in Section III. of Part X. (economic clauses) of the present treaty, a special clearing office, it being understood that this office shall be regarded as a "central office" under the provisions of Paragraph 1 of the annex to the said section.

ARTICLE 73.—The private property rights and interests of Alsace-Lorrainers in Germany will be regulated by the stipulations of Section IV. of Part X. (economic clauses) of the present treaty.

ARTICLE 74.—The French Government reserves the right to retain and liquidate all

the property, rights and interests which German nationals or societies controlled by Germany possessed in the territories referred to in Article 51 on Nov. 11, 1918, subject to the conditions laid down in the last paragraph of Article 53 above.

Germany will directly compensate its nationals who may have been dispossessed by the aforesaid liquidations.

The product of these liquidations shall be applied in accordance with the stipulations of Sections III. and IV. of Part X. (economic clauses) of the present treaty.

ARTICLE 75.—Notwithstanding the stipulations of Section V. of Part X. (economic clauses) of the present treaty, all contracts made before the date of the promulgation in Alsace-Lorraine of the French decree of 30th November, 1918, between Alsace-Lorrainers (whether individuals or juridical persons) or others resident in Alsace-Lorraine on the one part, and the German Empire or German States and their nationals resident in Germany on the other part, the execution of which has been suspended by the armistice or by subsequent French legislation, shall be maintained.

Nevertheless, any contract of which the French Government shall notify the cancellation to Germany in the general interest within a period of six months from the date of the coming into force of the present treaty shall be annulled except in respect of any debt or other pecuniary obligation arising out of any act done or money paid thereunder before the 11th November, 1918. If this dissolution would cause one of the parties substantial prejudice, equitable compensation, calculated solely on the capital employed without taking account of loss of profits, shall be accorded to the prejudiced party.

With regard to prescriptions, limitations, and forfeitures in Alsace-Lorraine, the provisions of Articles 300 and 301 of Section V., Part X. (economic clauses) shall be applied, with the substitution for the expression "outbreak of war" of the expression "11th November, 1918," and for the expression "duration of the war" of the expression "period from the 11th November, 1918, to date of the coming into force of the present treaty."

ARTICLE 76.—Questions concerning rights in industrial, literary, or artistic property of Alsace-Lorrainers shall be regulated in accordance with the general stipulations of Section VII. of Part X. (economic clauses) of the present treaty, it being understood that Alsace-Lorrainers holding rights of this nature under German legislation will preserve full and entire enjoyment of those rights on German territory.

ARTICLE 77.—The German Government undertakes to pay over to the French Government such proportion of all reserves accumulated by the empire or by public or private bodies dependent upon it, for the purposes of disability and old age insurance,

as would fall to the disability and old age insurance fund at Strasbourg.

The same shall apply in respect of the capital and reserves accumulated in Germany falling legitimately to other serial insurance funds, to miners' superannuation funds, to the fund of the railways of Alsace-Lorraine, to other superannuation organizations established for the benefit of the personnel of public administrations and institutions operating in Alsace-Lorraine, and also in respect of the capital and reserves due by the insurance fund of private employees at Berlin by reason of engagements entered into for the benefit of insured persons of that category resident in Alsace-Lorraine.

A special convention shall determine the conditions and procedure of these transfers.

ARTICLE 78.—With regard to the execution of judgments, orders, and prosecutions, the following rules shall be applied:

1. All civil and commercial judgments which shall have been given since Aug. 3, 1914, by the courts of Alsace-Lorraine between Alsace-Lorrainers, or between Alsace-Lorrainers and foreigners, or between foreigners, and which shall not have been appealed from before the 11th November, 1918, shall be regarded as final and capable of being fully executed.

When the judgment has been given between Alsace-Lorrainers and Germans, or between Alsace-Lorrainers and subjects of the allies of Germany, it shall only be capable of execution after the issue of an exequatur by the corresponding new tribunal in the restored territory referred to in Article 51.

2. All judgments given by German courts since the 3d August, 1914, against Alsace-Lorrainers for political crimes or misdemeanors shall be regarded as null and void.

3. All sentences passed since the 11th November, 1918, by the Imperial Court of Leipzig on Appeals against the decisions of the courts of Alsace-Lorraine shall be regarded as null and void and shall be so pronounced. The papers in regard to the cases in which such sentences have been given shall be returned to the courts of Alsace-Lorraine concerned.

All appeals to the Imperial Court against decisions of the courts of Alsace-Lorraine shall be suspended. In the cases referred to above, the papers shall be returned under the aforesaid conditions for transfer without delay to the French Cour de Cassation which shall be competent to decide them.

4. All prosecutions of Alsace-Lorrainers for offenses committed during the period between the 11th November, 1918, and the coming into force of the present treaty will be conducted under German law except in so far as this has been modified by decrees duly published on the spot by the French authorities.

All other questions as to competence, procedure or administration of justice, shall be

determined by a special convention between France and Germany.

ARTICLE 79.—The stipulations as to nationality contained in the annex hereto shall be considered as of equal force with the provisions of the present section.

All other questions concerning Alsace-Lorraine which are not regulated by the present section and the annex thereto, or by the general provisions of the present treaty, will form the subject of further conventions between France and Germany.

ANNEX

1. As from the 11th November, 1918, the following persons are ipso facto reinstated in French nationality:

First—Persons who lost French nationality by the application of the Franco-German treaty of the 10th May, 1871, and who have not since that date acquired any nationality other than German;

Second—The legitimate or natural descendants of the persons referred to in the immediately preceding paragraph, with the exception of those whose ascendants in the paternal line include a German who migrated into Alsace-Lorraine after the 15th July, 1870;

Third—All persons born in Alsace-Lorraine of unknown parents or whose nationality is unknown.

2. Within the period of one year from the coming into force of the present treaty, persons included in any of the following categories may claim French nationality:

First—All persons not restored to French nationality under Paragraph 1, above, whose ascendants include a Frenchman or French woman who lost French nationality under the conditions referred to in the said paragraph;

Second—All foreigners not nationals of a German State who acquired the status of a citizen of Alsace-Lorraine before the 3d August, 1914;

Third—All Germans domiciled in Alsace-Lorraine, if they have been so domiciled since a date previous to 15th July, 1870, or if one of their ascendants was at that date domiciled in Alsace-Lorraine;

Fourth—All Germans born or domiciled in Alsace-Lorraine who have served in the allied or associated armies during the present war and their descendants;

Fifth—All persons born in Alsace-Lorraine before 10th May, 1871, of foreign parents, and the descendants of such persons;

Sixth—The husband or wife of any person whose French nationality may have been restored under Paragraph 1 or who may have claimed and obtained French nationality in accordance with the preceding provisions.

The legal representatives of a minor may exercise on behalf of that minor the right to claim French nationality; and if that right has not been exercised, the minor may claim French nationality within the year following his majority.

Except in the case provided in No. 6 of the present paragraph, the French authorities reserve to themselves the right in individual cases to reject the claim to French nationality.

3. Subject to the provisions of Paragraph 2, Germans born or domiciled in Alsace-Lorraine shall not acquire French nationality by reason of the restoration of Alsace-Lorraine to France, even though they may have the status of citizens of Alsace-Lorraine.

They may acquire French nationality only by naturalization, on condition of having been domiciled in Alsace-Lorraine from a date previous to the 3d August, 1914, and of submitting proof of unbroken residence within the restored territory for a period of three years from the 11th November, 1918.

France will be solely responsible for their diplomatic and consular protection from the date of their application for French naturalization.

4. The French Government shall determine the procedure by which reinstatement in French nationality as of right shall be effected, and the conditions under which decisions shall be given upon claims to such nationality and applications for naturalization, as provided by the present annex.

SECTION VI.—Austria

ARTICLE 80.—Germany acknowledges and will respect strictly the independence of Austria. Within the frontiers which may be fixed by a treaty between that State and the principal Allied and Associated Powers she agrees that this independence shall be inalienable, except with the consent of the Council of the League of Nations.

SECTION VII.—Czechoslovak State

ARTICLE 81.—Germany, in conformity with the action already taken by the Allied and Associated Powers, recognizes the complete independence of the Czechoslovak State, which will include the autonomous territory of the Ruthenians to the south of the Carpathians. Germany hereby recognizes the frontier of this State as determined by the principal Allied and Associated Powers and the other interested States.

ARTICLE 82.—The old frontier as it existed on Aug. 3, 1914, between Austria-Hungary and the German Empire will constitute the frontier between Germany and the Czechoslovak State.

ARTICLE 83.—Germany renounces in favor of the Czechoslovak State all rights and title over the portion of Silesian territory defined as follows:

Starting from a point about 2 kilometers southeast of Katscher, on the boundary between the Circles (Kreise) of Loebischütz and Ratibor: the boundary between the two Kreise; then, the former boundary between Germany and Austria-Hungary up to a point on the Oder immediately to the south of the

Ratibor-Oderberg railway; thence, toward the northwest and up to a point about 2 kilometers to the southeast of Katscher: a line to be fixed on the spot passing to the west of Kranowitz.

A commission composed of seven members, five nominated by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, one by Poland, and one by the Czechoslovak State, will be appointed fifteen days after the coming into force of the present treaty to trace on the spot the frontier line between Poland and the Czechoslovak State.

The decisions of this commission will be taken by a majority and shall be binding on the parties concerned.

Germany hereby agrees to renounce in favor of the Czechoslovak State all rights and title over the part of the Kreis of Leobschütz comprised within the following boundaries in case after the determination of the frontier between Germany and Poland the said part of that circle should become isolated from Germany: from the southeastern extremity of the salient of the former Austrian frontier at about 5 kilometers to the west of Leobschütz southward and up to a point of junction with the boundary between the Kreise of Leobschütz and Ratibor: the former frontier between Germany and Austria-Hungary; then, northward, the administrative boundary between the Kreise of Leobschütz and Ratibor up to a point situated about 2 kilometers to the southeast of Katscher; thence, northwestward and up to the starting point of this definition: a line to be fixed on the spot passing to the east of Katscher.

ARTICLE 84.—German nationals habitually resident in any of the territories recognized as forming part of the Czechoslovak State will obtain Czechoslovak nationality *ipso facto* and lose their German nationality.

ARTICLE 85.—Within a period of two years from the coming into force of the present treaty German nationals over 18 years of age habitually resident in any of the territories recognized as forming part of the Czechoslovak State will be entitled to opt for German nationality. Czechoslovaks who are habitually resident in Germany will have a similar right to opt for Czechoslovak nationality.

Option by a husband will cover his wife, and option by parents will cover their children under 18 years of age. Persons who have exercised the above right to opt must within the succeeding twelve months transfer their place of residence to the State for which they have opted. They will be entitled to retain their landed property in the territory of the other State where they had their place of residence before exercising the right to opt. They may carry with them their movable property of every description. No export or import duties may be imposed upon them in connection with the removal of such property. Within the same period Czechoslovaks who are German nationals

and are in a foreign country will be entitled, in the absence of any provisions to the contrary in the foreign law, and if they have not acquired the foreign nationality, to obtain Czechoslovak nationality and lose their German nationality by complying with the requirements laid down by the Czechoslovak State.

ARTICLE 86.—The Czechoslovak State accepts and agrees to embody in a treaty with the principal Allied and Associated Powers such provisions as may be deemed necessary by the said powers to protect the interests of inhabitants of that State who differ from the majority of the population in race, language or religion.

The Czechoslovak State further accepts and agrees to embody in a treaty with the said powers such provisions as they may deem necessary to protect freedom of transit and equitable treatment of the commerce of other nations.

The proportion and nature of the financial obligations of Germany and Prussia which the Czechoslovak State will have to assume on account of the Silesian territory placed under its sovereignty will be determined in accordance with Article 254 of Part IX. (financial clauses) of the present treaty.

Subsequent agreements will decide all questions not decided by the present treaty which may arise in consequence of the cession of the said territory.

SECTION VIII.—*Poland*

ARTICLE 87.—Germany, in conformity with the action already taken by the Allied and Associated Powers, recognizes the complete independence of Poland and renounces in her favor all rights and title over the territory bounded by the Baltic Sea; the eastern frontier of Germany as laid down in Article 27 of Part II. (boundaries of Germany) of the present treaty, up to a point situated about two kilometers to the east of Lorzen-dorf, then a line to the acute angle which the northern boundary of Upper Silesia makes about three kilometers northwest of Simmenau, then to where the boundary of Upper Silesia has its meeting point with the old frontier between Germany and Russia, then this frontier to the point where it crosses the course of the Niemen, and then the northern frontier of East Prussia, as laid down in Article 28, Part II., aforesaid.

The terms of this article do not, however, apply to the territories of East Prussia and the free city of Danzig, as defined in Article 28, of Part II., (boundaries of Germany,) and in Article 100 of Section XI. (Danzig) of this part.

The boundaries of Poland not laid down in the present treaty will be subsequently determined by the principal Allied and Associated Powers. A commission consisting of seven members, five of whom shall be nominated by the principal Allied and Associated

Powers, one by Germany, and one by Poland, shall be constituted fifteen days after the coming into force of the present treaty to delimit on the spot the frontier line between Poland and Germany. The decision of the commission will be taken by a majority of votes and shall be binding upon the parties concerned.

ARTICLE 88.—In the portion of Upper Silesia included within the boundaries described below the inhabitants will be called upon to indicate by a vote whether they wish to be attached to Germany or to Poland:

Starting from the northern point of the salient of the old province of Austrian Silesia, situated about eight kilometers east of Neustadt, the former frontier between Germany and Austria, to its junction with the boundary between the Kreise of Loebischütz and Ratibor; thence in a northerly direction to a point about two kilometers southeast of Katscher; the boundary between the Kreise of Loebischütz and Ratibor; thence in a southeasterly direction to a point on the course of the Oder immediately south of the Ratibor-Oderberg railway: a line to be fixed on the ground passing south of Karanowitz;

Thence the old boundary between Germany and Austria, thence the old boundary between Germany and Russia to its junction with the administrative boundary between Posnania and Upper Silesia; thence this administrative boundary to its junction with the administrative boundary between Upper and Middle Silesia; thence westward to the point where the administrative boundary turns in an acute angle to the southwest about three kilometers northwest of Simmenau;

The boundary between Upper and Middle Silesia; thence in a westerly direction to a point to be fixed on the ground about two kilometers east of Orzendorf: a line to be fixed on the ground passing north of Klein Hennersdorf; thence southward to the point where the boundary between Upper and Middle Silesia cuts the Städtel-Karlsruhe road: a line to be fixed on the ground passing west of Hennersdorf, Polkowitz, Noldau, Steamersdorf and Dammer, and east of Strehlitz, Nassadel, Eckersdorf, Schwirz, and Städtel; thence the boundary between Upper and Middle Silesia to its junction with the eastern boundary of the Kreis of Falkenberg; thence the eastern boundary of the Kreis of Falkenberg to the point of the salient which is three kilometers east of Puschine; thence to the northern point of the salient of the old province of Austrian Silesia, situated about eight kilometers east of Neustadt: a line to be fixed on the ground, passing east of Zulla.

The régime under which this plebiscite will be taken and given effect to is laid down in the annex hereto.

The Polish and German Governments hereby respectively bind themselves to conduct no prosecutions on any part of their territory and to take no exceptional proceedings for

any political action performed in Upper Silesia during the period of the régime laid down in the annex hereto, and up to the settlement of the final status of the country. Germany hereby renounces in favor of Poland all rights and title over the portion of Upper Silesia lying beyond the frontier line fixed by the principal Allied and Associated Powers as this result of the plebiscite.

ANNEX

1. Within fifteen days from the coming into force of the present treaty the German troops and such officials as may be designated by the commission set up under the provisions of Paragraph 2 shall evacuate the plebiscite area. Up to the moment of the completion of the evacuation they shall refrain from any form of requisitioning in money or in kind and from all acts likely to prejudice the material interest of the country.

Within the same period the workmen's and soldiers' councils which have been constituted in this area shall be dissolved. Members of such councils who are natives of another region and are exercising their functions at the date of the coming into force of the present treaty, or who have gone out of office since the 1st March, 1919, shall be evacuated.

All military and semi-military unions formed in the said area by the inhabitants of the district shall be immediately disbanded. All members of such military organizations who are not domiciled in the said area shall be required to leave it.

2. The plebiscite area shall be immediately placed under the authority of an international commission of four members to be designated by the following powers: The United States of America, France, the British Empire, and Italy. It shall be occupied by troops belonging to the Allied and Associated Powers, and the German Government undertakes to give facilities for the transference of troops to Upper Silesia.

3. The commission shall enjoy all the powers exercised by the German or by the Prussian Government; except those of legislation or taxation. It shall also be substituted for the Government of the Province and the Regierungsbzirk.

It shall be within the competence of the commission to interpret the powers hereby conferred upon it, and to determine to what extent it shall exercise them and to what extent they shall be left in the hands of the existing authorities.

Changes in the existing laws and the existing taxation shall only be brought into force with the consent of the commission.

The commission will maintain order with the help of the troops which will be at its disposal and to the extent which it may deem necessary by means of gendarmerie recruited among the inhabitants of the country. The commission shall provide immediately for the replacement of the evacuated German officials, and, if occasion arises, shall itself

order the evacuation of such authorities and proceed to the replacement of such local authorities as may be required. It shall take all steps which it thinks proper to insure the freedom, fairness, and secrecy of the vote. In particular, it shall have the right to order the expulsion of any person who may in any way have attempted to distort the result of the plebiscite by methods of corruption or intimidation.

The commission shall have full power to settle all questions arising from the execution of the present clauses. It shall be assisted by technical advisers, chosen by it from among the local populations. The decision of the commission shall be taken by a majority vote.

4. The vote shall take place at such date as may be determined by the principal Allied and Associated Powers, but not sooner than six months or later than eighteen months after the establishment of the commission in the area.

The right to vote shall be given to all persons, without distinction of sex, who:

(a) Have completed their twentieth year on the 1st of January of the year in which the plebiscite takes place;

(b) Were born in the plebiscite area or have been domiciled there since a date to be determined by the commission, which shall not be subsequent to Jan. 1, 1919, or who have been expelled by the German authorities and have not retained their domicile there.

Persons convicted of political offenses shall not exercise their right of voting. Every person will vote in the commune where he is domiciled, or in which he was born, if he has not retained his domicile in the area.

The result of the vote will be determined by the communes according to the majority of votes in each commune.

5. On the conclusion of the voting the number of votes cast in each commune will be communicated by the commission to the principal Allied and Associated Powers with a full report as to the taking of the vote and a recommendation as to the line which ought to be adopted as the frontier of Germany in Upper Silesia. In this recommendation regard will be paid to the wishes of the inhabitants, as shown by the vote, and to the geographical and economic conditions of the locality.

6. As soon as the frontier has been fixed by the principal Allied and Associated Powers the German authorities will be notified by the International Commission that they are free to take over the administration of the territory which it is recognized should be German; the said authorities must proceed to do so within one month of such notification and in the manner prescribed by the commission. Within the same period and in the manner prescribed by the commission, the Polish Government must proceed to take over the administration of the territory which it is recognized should be Polish.

When the administration of the territory has been provided for by the German and Polish authorities respectively the powers of the commission will terminate.

The cost of the Army of Occupation and expenditure by the commission, whether in discharge of its own functions or in the administration of the territory, will be a charge on the area.

ARTICLE 89.—Poland undertakes to accord freedom of transit to persons, goods, vessels, carriages, wagons, and mails in transit between East Prussia and the rest of Ger-

many over Polish territory, including territorial waters, and to treat them at least as favorably as the persons, goods, vessels, carriages, wagons, and mails, respectively, of Polish or of any other most-favored nationality, origin, importation starting point, or ownership, as regards facilities, restrictions, and all other matters.

Goods in transit shall be exempt from all customs or other similar duties.

Freedom of transit will extend to telegraphic and telephonic services under the conditions laid down by the conventions referred to in Article 98.

ARTICLE 90.—Poland undertakes to permit, for a period of fifteen years, the exportation to Germany of the products of the mines in any part of Poland in accordance with the present treaty. Such export shall be subject to duties or other charges or restrictions on exportation.

Poland agrees to take such steps as may be necessary to secure that such products shall be available for sale to purchasers in Germany on terms as favorable as are applicable to like products sold under similar conditions to purchasers in Poland or in any other country.

ARTICLE 91.—German nationals habitually resident in territories recognized as forming part of Poland will acquire Polish nationality ipso facto and will lose their German nationality. German nationals, however, or their descendants who became resident in these territories after Jan. 1, 1908, will not acquire Polish nationality without a special authorization from the Polish State.

Within a period of two years after the coming into force of the present treaty, German nationals over 18 years of age, habitually resident in any of the territories recognized as forming part of Poland, will be entitled to opt for German nationality. Poles who are German nationals over 18 years of age, and habitually resident in Germany, will have a similar right to opt for Polish nationality. Option by a husband will cover his wife and option by parents will cover their children under 18 years of age. Persons who have exercised the above right to opt must within the succeeding twelve months transfer their place of residence to the State for which they have opted. They will be entitled to retain their immovable property in the territory of the other State, where they had their place of residence before exercising the right to opt. They may carry with them their movable property of every description. No export or import duties or charges may be imposed upon them in connection with the removal of such property.

Within the same period Poles who are German nationals and are in a foreign country will be entitled, in the absence of any provisions to the contrary in the foreign law, and if they have not acquired foreign nationality, to obtain Polish nationality and to

lose their German nationality by complying with the requirements laid down by the Polish State.

In this portion of Upper Silesia submitted to a plebiscite the provisions of this article should only come into force as from the definite attribution of the territory.

ARTICLE 92.—The proportion and the nature of the financial liabilities of Germany and Prussia to be borne by Poland will be determined in accordance with Article 254 of Part IX. (financial clauses) of the present treaty. There shall be excluded from the share of such financial liabilities assumed by Poland that portion of the debt which, according to the finding of the Reparation Commission referred to in the above mentioned article, arises from measures adopted by the German and Prussian Governments with a view to German colonization in Poland. In fixing under Article 256 of the present treaty the value of the property and possessions belonging to the German Empire and to the German States which pass to Poland, with the territory transferred above, the Reparation Commission shall exclude from the valuation buildings, forests, and other State property which belonged to the former kingdom of Poland; Poland shall acquire these properties free of all costs and charges.

In all the German territory transferred in accordance with the present treaty and recognized as forming definitively a part of Poland, the property rights and interests of German nationals shall not be liquidated under Article 297 by the Polish Government except in accordance with the following provisions:

1. The proceeds of the liquidation shall be paid direct to the owner;

2. If, on his application, the mixed arbitral tribunal provided for by the Section 6 of Part X. (Economic Clauses) of the present treaty, or an arbitrator appointed by that tribunal, is satisfied that the conditions of the sale or measures taken by the Polish Government outside of its general legislation were unfairly prejudicial to the price obtained, they shall have discretion to award to the owner equitable compensation to be paid by the Polish Government.

Further agreements will regulate all questions arising out of the cession of the above territory, which are not regulated by the present treaty.

ARTICLE 93.—Poland accepts and agrees to embody in a treaty with the principal Allied and Associated Powers such provisions as may be deemed necessary by the said powers to protect the interests of inhabitants of Poland who differ from the majority of the population in race, language or religion.

Poland further accepts and agrees to embody in a treaty with the said powers such provisions as they may deem necessary to protect freedom of transit and equitable treatment of the commerce of other nations.

SECTION IX.—*East Prussia*

ARTICLE 94.—In the area between the southern frontier of East Prussia, as described in Article 28 of Part II. (frontiers of Germany) of the present treaty, and the line described below, the inhabitants will be called upon to indicate by a vote the State to which they wish to belong:

The western and northern boundary of Regierungsbezirk Allenstein to its junction with the boundary between the Kreise of Oletzko and Angerburg, thence, the northern boundary of the Kreis of Oletzko to its junction with the old frontier of East Prussia.

ARTICLE 95.—The German troops and authorities will be withdrawn from the area defined above within a period not exceeding fifteen days after the coming into force of the present treaty. Until the evacuation is completed they will abstain from all requisitions in money or in kind and from all measures injurious to the economic interests of the country.

On the expiration of the above-mentioned period the said area will be placed under the authority of an International Commission of five members appointed by the principal Allied and Associated Powers. This commission will have general powers of administration and, in particular, will be charged with the duty of arranging for the vote, and of taking such measures as it may deem necessary to insure its freedom, fairness, and secrecy. The commission will have all necessary authority to decide any questions to which the execution of these provisions may give rise. The commission will make such arrangements as may be necessary for assistance in the exercise of its functions by officials chosen by itself from the local population; its decisions will be taken by a majority.

Every person, irrespective of sex, will be entitled to vote who:

- (a) Is 20 years of age at the date of the coming into force of the present treaty, and

- (b) Was born within the area where the vote will take place, or has been habitually resident there from a date to be fixed by the commission.

Every person will vote in the commune where he is habitually resident or, if not habitually resident in the area, in the commune where he was born.

The result of the vote will be determined by commune, (*Gemeinde*), according to the majority of the votes in each commune.

On the conclusion of the voting the number of votes cast in each commune will be communicated by the commission to the principal Allied and Associated Powers with a full report as to the taking of the vote and a recommendation as to the line which ought to be adopted as the boundary of East Prussia in this region.

In this recommendation, regard will be paid to the wishes of the inhabitants as shown by the vote, and to the geographical and economic conditions of the locality.

The principal Allied and Associated Powers will then fix the frontier between East Prussia and Poland in this region. If the line fixed by the principal Allied and Associated Powers is such as to exclude from East Prussia any part of the territory defined in Article 94, the renunciation of its rights by Germany in favor of Poland, as provided in Article 87, above, will extend to the territories so excluded. As soon as the line has been fixed by the principal Allied and Associated Powers, the authorities administering East Prussia will be notified by the International Commission that they are free to take over the administration of the territory to the north of the line so fixed, which they shall proceed to do within one month of such notification and in the manner prescribed by the commission. Within the same period, and as prescribed by the commission, the Polish Government must proceed to take over the administration of the territory to the south of the line. When the administration of the territory by the East Prussian and Polish authorities, respectively, has been provided for, the powers of the commission will terminate.

Expenditure by the commission, whether in the discharge of its own functions or in the administration of the territory, will be borne by the local revenues. East Prussia will be required to bear such proportion of any deficit as may be fixed by the principal allied and associated powers.

ARTICLE 96.—In the area comprising the Kreise of Stuhm and Rosenberg, and the portion of the Kreis of Marienburg which is situated east of the Nogat, and that of Marienwerder east of the Vistula, the inhabitants will be called upon to indicate by a vote, to be taken in each commune, (*Gemeinde*), whether they desire the various communes situated in this territory to belong to Poland or to East Prussia.

ARTICLE 97.—The German troops and authorities will be withdrawn from the area defined in Article 96 within a period not exceeding fifteen days after the coming into force of the present treaty. Until the evacuation is completed they will abstain from all requisitions in money or in kind and from all measures injurious to the economic interests of the country. On the expiration of the above mentioned period the said area will be placed under the authority of an International Commission of five members appointed by the principal Allied and Associated Powers. This commission, supported, if occasion arises, by the necessary forces, will have general powers of administration, and, in particular, will be charged with the duty of arranging for the vote and of taking such measures as it may deem necessary to insure its freedom, fairness, and secrecy. The commission will conform as far as possible to the provisions of the present treaty relating to the plebiscite in the Allenstein area. Its decision will be taken by a majority. Expenditure by the commission, whether in the

discharge of its own functions or in the administration of the territory, will be borne by the local revenues.

On the conclusion of the voting, the number of votes cast in each commune will be communicated by the commission to the principal Allied and Associated Powers, with a full report as to the taking of the vote and a recommendation as to the line which ought to be adopted as the boundary of East Prussia in this region. In this recommendation regard will be paid to the wishes of the inhabitants as shown by the vote and to the geographical and economic conditions of the locality. The principal Allied and Associated Powers will then fix the frontier between East Prussia and Poland in this region, leaving in any case to Poland for the whole of the section bordering on the Vistula full and complete control of the river, including the east bank as far east of the river as may be necessary for its regulation and improvement. Germany agrees that in any portion of the said territory which remains German no fortifications shall at any time be erected.

The principal Allied and Associated Powers will at the same time draw up regulations for assuring to the population of East Prussia to the fullest extent, and under equitable conditions, access to the Vistula, and the use of it for themselves, their commerce, and their boats.

The determination of the frontier and the foregoing regulations shall be binding upon all the parties concerned. When the administration of the territory has been taken over by the East Prussian and Polish authorities, respectively, the powers of the commission will terminate.

ARTICLE 98.—Germany and Poland undertake, within one year of the coming into force of this treaty, to enter into conventions of which the terms, in case of difference, shall be settled by the Council of the League of Nations, with the object of securing on the one hand to Germany full and adequate railroad, telegraphic, and telephonic facilities for communication between the rest of Germany and East Prussia over the intervening Polish territory, and on the other hand to Poland full and adequate railroad, telegraphic, and telephonic facilities for communication between Poland and the free city of Danzig over any German territory that may, on the right bank of the Vistula, intervene between Poland and the free city of Danzig.

SECTION X.—*Memel*

ARTICLE 99.—Germany renounces in favor of the principal Allied and Associated Powers all rights and title over the territories included between the Baltic, the northeastern frontier of East Prussia as defined in Article 28 of Part II. (Frontiers of Germany) of the present treaty and the former frontier between Germany and Russia.

Germany undertakes to accept the settle-

ment made by the principal Allied and Associated Powers in regard to these territories, particularly in so far as concerns the nationality of the inhabitants.

SECTION XI.—*Free City of Danzig*

ARTICLE 100.—Germany renounces in favor of the principal Allied and Associated Powers all rights and title over the territory comprised within the following limits:

From the Baltic Sea southward to the point where the principal channels of navigation of the Nogat and Vistula (Weichsel) meet;

The boundary of East Prussia as described in Article 28 of Part II. (boundaries of Germany) of the present treaty;

Thence the principal channel of navigation of the Vistula downstream to a point about 6½ kilometers north of the bridge of Dirschau;

Thence northwest to point 5, 1½ kilometers southeast of the Church of Güttland, a line to be fixed on the ground;

Thence in a general westerly direction to the salient of the Kreis of Berent, 8½ kilometers northeast of Schöneck;

A line to be fixed on the ground passing between Mühlbanz on the south and Rambeltsch on the north;

Thence the boundary of the Kreis of Berent, westward to the re-entrant which it forms six kilometers north-northwest of Schöneck;

Thence to a point on the median line of Lonkener See; a line to be fixed on the ground passing north of Neu Fletz and Scharptal and south of Barenhütte and Lonken; thence the median line of the Lonkener See to its northernmost point; thence to the southern end of Pollenziner See; a line to be fixed on the ground;

Thence the median line of Pollenziner See to its northernmost point;

Thence in a northeasterly direction to a point about one kilometer south of Koliebken Church, where the Danzig-Neustadt Railway crosses a stream;

A line to be fixed on the ground passing southeast of Kamehlen, Krissau, Fidlín, Sulmin, (Richthof,) Mattern, Schäferlei, and to the northwest of Neuendorf, Marschau, Czapielken, Hoch and Klein Kelpin, Pulvermühl, Renneberg, and the towns of Oliva and Zoppot;

Thence the course of this stream to the Baltic Sea.

The boundaries described above are drawn on a German map scale 1-100,000, attached to the present treaty, (Map No. 4.)

ARTICLE 101.—A commission composed of three members appointed by the principal Allied and Associated Powers, including a High Commissioner as President, one member appointed by Germany, and one member appointed by Poland, shall be constituted within fifteen days of the coming into force of the present treaty for the purpose of

delimiting on the spot the frontier of the territory as described above, taking into account as far as possible the existing communal boundaries.

ARTICLE 102.—The principal Allied and Associated Powers undertake to establish the town of Danzig, together with the rest of the territory described in Article 100, as a free city. It will be placed under the protection of the League of Nations.

ARTICLE 103.—A constitution for the free city of Danzig shall be drawn up by the duly appointed representatives of the free city in agreement with a High Commissioner to be appointed by the League of Nations. The constitution shall be placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations.

The High Commissioner will also be entrusted with the duty of dealing in the first instance with all differences arising between Poland and the free city of Danzig in regard to this treaty or any arrangements or agreements made thereunder.

The High Commissioner shall reside at Danzig.

ARTICLE 104.—The principal Allied and Associated Powers undertake to negotiate a treaty between the Polish Government and the free city of Danzig which shall come into force at the same time as the establishment of said free city, with the following objects:

1. To effect the inclusion of the free city of Danzig within the Polish customs frontiers and to establish a free area in the port.

2. To insure to Poland without any restriction the free use and service of all waterways, docks, basins, wharves, and other works within the territory of the free city necessary for Polish imports and exports.

3. To insure to Poland the control and administration of the Vistula and of the whole railway system within the free city; except such street and other railways as serve primarily the needs of the free city and of postal, telegraphic, and telephonic communication between Poland and the Port of Danzig.

4. To insure to Poland the right to develop and improve the waterways, docks, basins, wharves, railways, and other works and means of communication mentioned in this article, as well as to lease or purchase through appropriate processes such land and other property as may be necessary for these purposes.

5. To provide against any discrimination within the free city of Danzig to the detriment of citizens of Poland and other persons of Polish origin or speech.

6. To provide that the Polish Government shall undertake the conduct of the foreign relations of the free city of Danzig as well as the diplomatic protection of citizens of that city when abroad.

ARTICLE 105.—On the coming into force of the present treaty German nationals ordinarily resident in the territory described in

Article 100 will ipso facto lose their German nationality, in order to become nationals of the free city of Danzig.

ARTICLE 106.—Within a period of two years from the coming into force of the present treaty German nationals over 18 years of age ordinarily resident in the territory described in Article 100 will have the right to opt for German nationality.

Option by a husband will cover his wife and option by parents will cover their children less than 18 years of age.

All persons who exercise the right of option referred to above must during the ensuing twelve months transfer their place of residence to Germany.

These persons will be entitled to preserve the immovable property possessed by them in the territory of the free city of Danzig. They may carry with them their movable property of every description. No export or import duties shall be imposed upon them in this connection.

ARTICLE 107.—All property situated within the territory of the free city of Danzig belonging to the German Empire or any German State shall pass to the principal Allied and Associated Powers for transfer to the free city of Danzig or to the Polish State as they may consider equitable.

ARTICLE 108.—The proportion and nature of the financial liabilities of Germany and of Prussia to be borne by the free city of Danzig shall be fixed in accordance with Article 254 of Part IX. (financial clauses) of the present treaty.

All other questions which may arise from the cession of the territory referred to in Article 100 shall be settled by further agreements.

SECTION XII.—*Schleswig*

ARTICLE 109.—The frontier between Germany and Denmark shall be fixed in conformity with the wishes of the population.

For this purpose the population inhabiting the territories of the former German empire situated to the north of a line from east to west, (shown by a brown line on the Map No. 3 annexed to the present treaty;)

Leaving the Baltic coast about thirteen kilometers east-northeast of Flensburg, running southwest so as to pass southeast of Sygum, Ringsberg, Munkbrarup, Adelby, Tastrup, Jarplund, Oversee, and northwest of Langballighol, Langballig, Bönstrup, Rüllschau, Weseby, Kleinwolstrup, Gross-Solt; thence westward passing south of Frörup and north of Wanderup; thence in a southwesterly direction passing southeast of Oxlund, Stieglund, and Ostenau and northwest of the villages on the Wanderup-Kolund road; thence in a northwesterly direction passing southwest of Löwenstedt, Joldelund, Goldelund and northeast of Kalkerheide and Høgel to the bend of the Soholm Au, about one kilometer east of Soholm, where it meets the southern boundary of the Kreis of Tondern; thence following this

boundary to the North Sea; thence passing south of the islands of Föhr and Amrum and north of the islands of Oland and Lange-ness shall be called upon to pronounce by a vote which will be taken under the following conditions:

1. Within a period not exceeding ten days from the coming into force of the present treaty, the German troops and authorities (including the Oberpräsidenten, Regierungs-Präsidenten, Landräthe, Amtsvorsteher, Oberbürgermeister) shall evacuate the zone lying to the north of the line above fixed.

Within the same period the Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils which have been constituted in this zone shall be dissolved; members of such councils who are natives of another region and are exercising their functions at the date of the coming into force of the present treaty, or who have gone out of office since the 1st March, 1919, shall also be evacuated.

The said zone shall immediately be placed under the authority of an international commission, composed of five members, of whom three will be designated by the principal Allied and Associated Powers; the Norwegian and Swedish Governments will each be requested to designate a member. In the event of their failing to do so, these two members will be chosen by the principal Allied and Associated Powers.

The commission, assisted in case of need by the necessary forces, shall have general powers of administration. In particular, it shall at once provide for filling the places of the evacuated German authorities, and, if necessary, shall itself give orders for their evacuation and proceed to fill the places of such local authorities as may be required. It shall take all steps which it thinks proper to insure the freedom, fairness, and secrecy of the vote. It shall be assisted by German and Danish technical advisers chosen by it from among the local population. Its decisions will be taken by a majority.

One-half of the expenses of the International Commission and of the expenditure occasioned by the plebiscite shall be paid by Germany.

2. The right to vote shall be given all persons, without distinction of sex, who:

(a) Have completed their twentieth year at the date of the coming into force of the present treaty; and

(b) Were born in the zone in which the plebiscite is taken, or had been domiciled there since a date before the 1st January, 1900, or had been expelled by the German authorities without having retained their domicile there.

Every person will vote in the commune (Gemeinde) where he is domiciled or of which he is a native.

Military persons, officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers of the German Army, who are natives of the zone of Schleswig, in which the plebiscite is taken, shall be given the opportunity to return to

their native place in order to take part in the voting there.

3. In the section of the evacuated zone lying to the north of a line from east to west (shown by a red line on Map No. 3, which is annexed to the present treaty):

Passing south of the Island of Alsen and following the median line of Flensburg Fjord;

Thence leaving the fjord about six kilometers north of Flensburg, and following the course of the stream flowing past Kupfermühle upstream to a point north of Niehuus;

Thence passing north of Pattburg and El-lund and south of Fröslee to meet the eastern boundary of the Kreis of Tondern at its junction with the boundary between the old jurisdiction of Slogs and Kjaer, (Slogs Herred and Kjaer Herred;)

Thence the latter boundary to where it meets the Scheidebek;

Thence the course of the Scheidebek, (Alte Au, Süder Au, and Wied Au downstream successively to the point where the latter bends northward, about 1,500 meters west of Ruttebüll;

Thence in a west-northwesterly direction to meet the North Sea north of Sieltoft;

Thence passing north of the Island of Sylt.

The vote above provided for shall be taken within a period not exceeding three weeks after the evacuation of the country by the German troops and authorities.

The result will be determined by the majority of votes cast in the whole of this section. This result will be immediately communicated by the commission to the principal Allied and Associated Governments and proclaimed.

If the vote results in favor of the reincorporation of this territory in the Kingdom of Denmark, the Danish Government, in agreement with the commission, will be entitled to effect its occupation with their military and administrative authorities immediately after the proclamation.

4. In the section of the evacuated zone situated to the south of the preceding section and to the north of the line which starts from the Baltic Sea thirteen kilometers from Flensburg and ends north of the islands of Oland and Langeness, the vote will be taken within a period not exceeding five weeks after the plebiscite shall have been held in the first section.

The result will be determined by communes (Gemeinden) in accordance with the majority of the votes cast in each commune, (Gemeinde.)

ARTICLE 110.—Pending a delimitation on the spot, a frontier line will be fixed by the principal Allied and Associated Powers according to a line based on the result of the voting, and proposed by the International Commission, and taking into account the particular geographical and economic conditions of the localities in question.

From that time the Danish Government

may effect the occupation of these territories which the Danish civil and military authorities, and the German Government may reinstate up to the said frontier line the German civil and military authorities whom it has evacuated.

Germany hereby renounced definitively in favor of the principal Allied and Associated Powers all rights of sovereignty over the territories situated to the north of the frontier line fixed in accordance with the above provisions. The principal Allied and Associated Powers will hand over the said territories to Denmark.

ARTICLE 111.—A commission, composed of seven members, five of whom shall be nominated by the principal Allied and Associated Powers, one by Denmark, and one by Germany, shall be constituted within fifteen days from the date when the final result of the vote is known, to trace the frontier line on the spot.

The decisions of the commission will be taken by a majority of votes, and shall be binding on the parties concerned.

ARTICLE 112.—All the inhabitants of the territory which is returned to Denmark will acquire Danish nationality *ipso facto*, and will lose their German nationality. Persons, however, who had become habitually resident in this territory after the 1st October, 1918, will not be able to acquire Danish nationality without permission from the Danish Government.

ARTICLE 113.—Within two years from the date on which the sovereignty over the whole or part of the territory of Schleswig subjected to the plebiscite is restored to Denmark:

Any person over 18 years of age, born in the territory restored to Denmark, not habitually resident in this region and possessing German nationality, will be entitled to opt for Denmark.

Any person over 18 years of age habitually resident in the territory restored to Denmark will be entitled to opt for Germany.

Option by a husband will cover his wife and option by parents will cover their children less than 18 years of age.

Persons who have exercised the above right to opt must within the ensuing twelve months transfer their place of residence to the State in favor of which they have opted.

They will be entitled to retain the immovable property which they own in the territory of the other State in which they were habitually resident before opting. They may carry with them their movable property of every description. No export or import duties may be imposed upon them in connection with the removal of such property.

ARTICLE 114.—The proportion and nature of the financial or other obligations of Germany and Prussia which are to be assumed by Denmark will be fixed in accordance with Article 254 of Part IX. (financial clauses) of the present treaty.

Further stipulations will determine any

other questions arising out of the transfer to Denmark of the whole or part of the territory of which she was deprived by the treaty of Oct. 30, 1864.

SECTION XIII.—*Heligoland*

ARTICLE 115.—The fortifications, military establishments, and harbors of the islands of Heligoland and Dune shall be destroyed under the supervision of the principal Allied Governments by German labor and at the expense of Germany within a period to be determined by the said Governments.

The term "harbors" shall include the Northeast Mole, the West Wall, the outer and inner breakwaters and reclaimed land within them, and all naval and military works, fortifications, and buildings, constructed or under construction, between lines connecting the following positions taken from the British Admiralty Chart No. 126 of 19 April 1918:

(A) Lat. 54 degrees 10 minutes 49 seconds N.; long. 7 degrees 53 minutes 39 seconds E.;

(B) Lat. 54 degrees 10 minutes 35 seconds N.; long. 7 degrees 54 minutes 18 seconds E.;

(C) Lat. 54 degrees 10 minutes 14 seconds N.; long. 7 degrees 54 minutes 0 seconds E.;

(D) Lat. 54 degrees 10 minutes 17 seconds N.; long. 7 degrees 53 minutes 37 seconds E.;

(E) Lat. 54 degrees 10 minutes 44 seconds N.; long. 7 degrees 53 minutes 26 seconds E.

These fortifications, military establishments, and harbors shall not be reconstructed, nor shall any similar works be constructed in future.

SECTION XIV.—*Russia and Russian States*

ARTICLE 116.—Germany acknowledges and agrees to respect as permanent and inalienable the independence of all the territories which were part of the former Russian Empire on Aug. 1, 1914.

In accordance with the provisions of Article 259 of Part IX. (financial clauses) and Article 292 of Part X., (economic clauses,) Germany accepts definitively the abrogation of the Brest-Litovsk Treaties and of all treaties, conventions, and agreements entered into by her with the Maximalist Government in Russia.

The Allied and Associated Powers formally reserve the rights of Russia to obtain from Germany restitution and reparation based on the principles of the present treaty.

ARTICLE 117.—Germany undertakes to recognize the full force of all treaties or agreements which may be entered into by the Allied and Associated Powers with States now existing or coming into existence in future in the whole or part of the former Empire of Russia as it existed on Aug. 1, 1914, and to recognize the frontiers of any such States as determined therein.

PART IV.—German Rights and Interests Outside Germany

ARTICLE 118.—In territory outside her European frontiers as fixed by the present treaty, Germany renounces all rights, titles, and privileges whatever in or over territory which belonged to her or to her allies, and all rights, titles, and privileges, whatever their origin, which she held as against the Allied and Associated Powers.

Germany undertakes immediately to recognize and to conform to the measures which may be taken now or in the future by the principal Allied and Associated Powers, in agreement where necessary with third powers, in order to carry the above stipulation into effect.

In particular, Germany declares her acceptance of the following articles relating to certain special subjects:

SECTION I.—*German Colonies*

ARTICLE 119.—Germany renounces in favor of the principal Allied and Associated Powers all her rights and titles over her overseas possessions.

ARTICLE 120.—All movable and immovable property in such territories belonging to the German Empire or to any German State shall pass to the Government exercising authority over such territories on the terms laid down in Article 257 of Part IX. (finan-

cial clauses) of the present treaty. The decision of the local courts in any dispute as to the nature of such property shall be final.

ARTICLE 121.—The provisions of Section I. (commercial relations) and Section IV. (property, rights, and interests) of Part X. (economic clauses) of the present treaty shall apply in the case of these territories whatever be the form of government adopted for them.

ARTICLE 122.—The Government exercising authority over such territories may make such provisions as it thinks fit with reference to the repatriation from them of German nationals, and to the conditions upon which German subjects of European origin shall, or shall not, be allowed to reside, hold property, trade, or exercise a profession in them.

ARTICLE 123.—The provisions of Article 260 of Part IX. (financial clauses) of the present treaty shall apply in the case of all agreements concluded with German nationals for the construction or exploitation of public works in the German overseas possessions, as well as any sub-concessions or contracts resulting therefrom which may have been made to or with such nationals.

ARTICLE 124.—Germany hereby undertakes to pay in accordance with the estimate to be

presented by the French Government, and approved by the Reparation Commission, reparation for damage suffered by French nationals in the Cameroons or the frontier zone by reason of the acts of the German civil and military authorities and of German private individuals during the period from Jan. 1, 1900, to Aug. 1, 1914.

ARTICLE 125.—Germany renounces all rights under the conventions and agreements with France of Nov. 4, 1911, and Sept. 28, 1912, relating to equatorial Africa. She undertakes to pay to the French Government, in accordance with the estimate to be presented by the Government and approved by the Reparation Commission, all the deposits, credits, advances, &c., effected by virtue of these instruments in favor of Germany.

ARTICLE 126.—Germany undertakes to accept and observe the agreements made or to be made by the Allied and Associated Powers or some of them with any other power with regard to the trade in arms and spirits, and to the matters dealt with in the general act of Berlin of Feb. 26, 1885, the general act of Brussels of July 2, 1890, and the conventions completing or modifying the same.

ARTICLE 127.—The native inhabitants of the former German overseas possessions shall be entitled to the diplomatic protection of the Governments exercising authority over those territories.

SECTION II.—*China*

ARTICLE 128.—Germany renounces in favor of China all benefits and privileges resulting from the provisions of the final protocol signed at Peking on Sept. 7, 1901, and from all annexes, notes, and documents supplementary thereto. She likewise renounces in favor of China any claim to indemnities accruing thereunder subsequent to March 14, 1917.

ARTICLE 129.—From the coming into force of the present treaty the high contracting parties shall apply in so far as concerns them respectively:

1. The arrangement of Aug. 29, 1902, regarding the new Chinese customs tariff.
2. The arrangement of Sept. 27, 1905, regarding Whang-Poo, and the provisional supplementary arrangement of April 4, 1912. China, however, will no longer be bound to grant to Germany the advantages or privileges which she allowed Germany under these arrangements.

ARTICLE 130.—Subject to the provisions of Section VIII. of this part, Germany cedes to China all the buildings, wharves and pontoons, barracks, forts, arms and munitions of war, vessels of all kinds, wireless telegraphy installations and other public property belonging to the German Government, which are situated or may be in the German concessions at Tientsin and Hankow or elsewhere in Chinese territory.

It is understood, however, that premises

used as diplomatic or consular residences or offices are not included in the above cession, and, furthermore, that no steps shall be taken by the Chinese Government to dispose of the German public and private property situated within the so-called legation quarter at Peking without the consent of the diplomatic representatives of the powers which, on the coming into force of the present treaty, remain parties to the final protocol of Sept. 7, 1901.

ARTICLE 131.—Germany undertakes to restore to China within twelve months from the coming into force of the present treaty all the astronomical instruments which her troops in 1900-1901 carried away from China, and to defray all expenses which may be incurred in effecting such restoration, including the expenses of dismounting, packing, transporting, insurance, and installation in Peking.

ARTICLE 132.—Germany agrees to the abrogation of the leases from the Chinese Government under which the German concessions at Hankow and Tientsin are now held.

China, restored to the full exercise of her sovereign rights in the above areas, declares her intention of opening them to international residence and trade. She further declares that the abrogation of the leases under which these concessions are now held shall not affect the property rights of nationals or Allied and Associated Powers who are holders of lots in these concessions.

ARTICLE 133.—Germany waives all claims against the Chinese Government or against any Allied or Associated Government arising out of the internment of German nationals in China and their repatriation. She equally renounces all claims arising out of the capture and condemnation of German ships in China or the liquidation, sequestration or control of German properties, rights, and interests in that country since Aug. 14, 1917. This provision, however, shall not affect the rights of the parties interested in the proceeds of any such liquidation, which shall be governed by the provisions of Part X. (economic clauses) of the present treaty.

ARTICLE 134.—Germany renounces, in favor of the Government of his Britannic Majesty, the German State property in the British concession at Shameen at Canton. She renounces, in favor of the French and Chinese Governments conjointly, the property of the German school situated in the French concession at Shanghai.

SECTION III.—*Siam*

ARTICLE 135.—Germany recognizes that all treaties, conventions, and agreements between her and Siam, and all rights, titles and privileges derived therefrom, including all rights of extraterritorial jurisdiction, terminated as from July 22, 1917.

ARTICLE 136.—All goods and property in Siam belonging to the German Empire or to any German State, with the exception of

premises used as diplomatic or consular residences or offices, pass ipso facto and without compensation to the Siamese Government.

The goods, property, and private rights of German nationals in Siam shall be dealt with in accordance with the provisions of Part X. (economic clauses) of the present treaty.

ARTICLE 137.—Germany waives all claims against the Siamese Government on behalf of herself or her nationals arising out of the seizure or condemnation of German ships, the liquidation of German property, or the internment of German nationals in Siam. This provision shall not affect the rights of the parties interested in the proceeds of any such liquidation, which shall be governed by the provisions of Part X. (economic clauses) of the present treaty.

SECTION IV.—*Liberia*

ARTICLE 138.—Germany renounces all rights and privileges arising from the arrangements of 1911 and 1912 regarding Liberia, and particularly the right to nominate a German receiver of customs in Liberia. She further renounces all claim to participate in any measures whatsoever which may be adopted for the rehabilitation of Liberia.

ARTICLE 139.—Germany recognizes that all treaties and arrangements between her and Liberia terminated as from Aug. 4, 1917.

ARTICLE 140.—The property, rights, and interests of Germans in Liberia shall be dealt with in accordance with Part X. (economic clauses) of the present treaty.

SECTION V.—*Morocco*

ARTICLE 141.—Germany renounces all rights, titles, and privileges conferred on her by the general act of Algeiras of April 7, 1906, and by the Franco-German agreements of Feb. 9, 1909, and Nov. 4, 1911. All treaties, agreements, arrangements, and contracts concluded by her with the Sherifian Empire are regarded as abrogated as from Aug. 3, 1914.

In no case can Germany take advantage of these instruments, and she undertakes not to intervene in any way in negotiations relating to Morocco which may take place between France and the other powers.

ARTICLE 142.—Germany having recognized the French Protectorate in Morocco, hereby accepts all the consequences of its establishment, and she renounces the régime of the capitulations therein.

This renunciation shall take effect as from Aug. 3, 1914.

ARTICLE 143.—The Sherifian Government shall have complete liberty of action in regulating the status of German nationals in Morocco and the conditions in which they may establish themselves there.

German-protected persons, *semsars*, and "associés agricoles" shall be considered as

having ceased, as from Aug. 3, 1914, to enjoy the privileges attached to their status and shall be subject to the ordinary law.

ARTICLE 144.—All property and possessions in the Sherifian Empire of the German Empire and the German States pass to the Maghzen without payment.

For the purposes of this clause, the property and possessions of the German Empire and States shall be deemed to include all the property of the crown, the empire, or States, and the private property of the former German Emperor and other royal personages.

All movable and immovable property in the Sherifian Empire belonging to German nationals shall be dealt with in accordance with Sections III. and IV. of Part X. (economic clauses) of the present treaty.

Mining rights which may be recognized as belonging to German nationals by the Court of Arbitration set up under the Moroccan mining regulations shall form the subject of a valuation, which the arbitrators shall be requested to make, and these rights shall then be treated in the same way as property in Morocco belonging to German nationals.

ARTICLE 145.—The German Government shall insure the transfer to a person nominated by the French Government of the shares representing Germany's portion of the capital of the State Bank of Morocco. The value of these shares, as assessed by the Reparation Commission, shall be paid to the Reparation Commission for the credit of Germany on account of the sums due for reparation. The German Government shall be responsible for indemnifying its nationals so dispossessed.

This transfer will take place without prejudice to the repayment of debts which German nationals may have contracted toward the State Bank of Morocco.

ARTICLE 146.—Moroccan goods entering Germany shall enjoy the treatment accorded to French goods.

SECTION VI.—*Egypt*

ARTICLE 147.—Germany declares that she recognizes the protectorate proclaimed over Egypt by Great Britain on Dec. 18, 1914, and that she renounces the régime of the capitulations in Egypt. This renunciation shall take effect as from Aug. 4, 1914.

ARTICLE 148.—All treaties, agreements, arrangements, and contracts concluded by Germany with Egypt are regarded as abrogated as from Aug. 4, 1914.

In no case can Germany avail herself of these instruments, and she undertakes not to intervene in any way in negotiations relating to Egypt which may take place between Great Britain and the other powers.

ARTICLE 149.—Until an Egyptian law of judicial organization establishing courts with universal jurisdiction comes into force, provision shall be made, by means of decrees issued by his Highness the Sultan for the exercise of jurisdiction over German na-

nationals and property by the British consular tribunals.

ARTICLE 150.—The Egyptian Government shall have complete liberty of action in regulating the status of German nationals and the conditions under which they may establish themselves in Egypt.

ARTICLE 151.—Germany consents to the abrogation of the decree issued by his Highness the Khédive on Nov. 28, 1904, relating to the commission of the Egyptian public debt, or to such changes as the Egyptian Government may think it desirable to make therein.

ARTICLE 152.—Germany consents, in so far as she is concerned, to the transfer to his Britannic Majesty's Government of the powers conferred on his Imperial Majesty the Sultan, by the convention signed at Constantinople on Oct. 29, 1888, relating to the free navigation of the Suez Canal.

She renounces all participation in the Sanitary, Maritime, and Quarantine Board of Egypt, and consents, in so far as she is concerned, to the transfer to the Egyptian authorities of the powers of that board.

ARTICLE 153.—All property and possessions in Egypt of the German Empire and the German States pass to the Egyptian Government without payment.

For this purpose the property and possessions of the German Empire and States shall be deemed to include all the property of the crown, the empire, or the States, and the private property of the former German Emperor and other royal personages.

All movable and immovable property in Egypt belonging to German nationals shall be dealt with in accordance with Sections III. and IV. of Part X. (economic clauses) of the present treaty.

ARTICLE 154.—Egyptian goods entering Germany shall enjoy the treatment accorded to British goods.

SECTION VII.—*Turkey and Bulgaria*

ARTICLE 155.—Germany undertakes to recognize and accept all arrangements which the Allied and Associated Powers may make with Turkey and Bulgaria, with reference to

any rights, interests, and privileges whatever which might be claimed by Germany or her nationals in Turkey and Bulgaria and which are not dealt with in the provisions of the present treaty.

SECTION VIII.—*Shantung*

ARTICLE 156.—Germany renounces, in favor of Japan, all her rights, titles, and privileges—particularly those concerning the territory of Kiao-Chau, railways, mines, and submarine cables, which she acquired in virtue of the treaty concluded by her with China on 6th March, 1898, and of all other arrangements relative to the Province of Shantung.

All German rights in the Tsing-tao-Tsinan-Fu railway, including its branch lines, together with its subsidiary property of all kinds, stations, shops, fixed and rolling stock, mines, plant, and material for the exploitation of the mines are and remain acquired by Japan, together with all rights and privileges attaching thereto.

The German State submarine cables from Tsing-tao to Shanghai and from Tsing-tao to Che Foo, with all the rights, privileges, and properties attaching thereto, are similarly acquired by Japan, free and clear of all charges and incumbrances.

ARTICLE 157.—The movable and immovable property owned by the German State in the territory of Kiao-Chau, as well as all the rights which Germany might claim in consequence of the works or improvements made or of the expenses incurred by her, directly or indirectly, in connection with this territory, are and remain acquired by Japan, free and clear of all charges and incumbrances.

ARTICLE 158.—Germany shall hand over to Japan within three months from the coming into force of the present treaty the archives, registers, plans, title deeds, and documents of every kind, wherever they may be, relating to the administration, whether civil, military, financial, judicial or other, of the territory of Kiao-Chau.

Within the same period Germany shall give particulars to Japan of all treaties, arrangements or agreements relating to the rights, title or privileges referred to in the two preceding articles.

PART V.—Military, Naval, and Aerial Clauses

IN order to render possible the initiation of a general limitation of the armaments of all nations, Germany undertakes strictly to observe the military, naval, and air clauses which follow:

SECTION I.—*Military Clauses*

CHAPTER I.—EFFECTIVES AND CADRES OF THE GERMAN ARMY

ARTICLE 159.—The German military forces

shall be demobilized and reduced as prescribed hereinafter.

ARTICLE 160.—1. By a date which must not be later than March 31, 1920, the German Army must not comprise more than seven divisions of infantry and three divisions of cavalry. After that date the total number of effectives in the army of the States constituting Germany must not exceed 100,000 men, including officers and establishments of depots. The army shall be de-

voted exclusively to the maintenance of order within the territory and to the control of the frontiers.

The total effective strength of officers, including the personnel of staffs, whatever their composition, must not exceed 4,000.

2. Divisions and army corps headquarters staffs shall be organized in accordance with Table No. 1 annexed to this section.

The number and strength of the units of infantry, artillery, engineers, technical services, and troops laid down in the aforesaid table constitute maxima which must not be exceeded.

The following units may each have their own depot:

An infantry regiment; a cavalry regiment; a regiment of field artillery; a battalion of pioneers.

3. The divisions must not be grouped under more than two army corps headquarters staffs.

The maintenance or formation of forces differently grouped or of other organizations for the command of troops or for preparation for war is forbidden.

The Great German General Staff and all similar organizations shall be dissolved and may not be reconstituted in any form.

The officers, or persons in the position of officers, in the Ministries of War in the different States in Germany and in the administrations attached to them, must not exceed three hundred in number and are included in the maximum strength of four thousand laid down in the third sub-paragraph of the first paragraph of this article.

ARTICLE 161.—Army administrative services consisting of civilian personnel not included in the number of effectives prescribed by the present treaty will have such personnel reduced in each class to one-tenth of that laid down in the budget of 1913.

ARTICLE 162.—The number of employes or officials of the German States, such as customs officers, forest guards, and coast guards shall not exceed that of the employes or officials functioning in these capacities in 1913.

The number of gendarmes and employes or officials of the local or municipal police may only be increased to an extent corresponding to the increase of population since 1913 in the districts or municipalities in which they are employed.

These employes and officials may not be assembled for military training.

ARTICLE 163.—The reduction of the strength of the German military forces as provided for in Article 160 may be effected gradually in the following manner:

Within three months from the coming into force of the present treaty the total number of effectives must be reduced to 200,000 and the number of units must not exceed twice the number of those laid down in Article 160.

At the expiration of this period, and at the end of each subsequent period of three

months, a conference of military experts of the principal Allied and Associated Powers will fix the reductions to be made in the ensuing three months, so that by the 31st of March, 1920, at the latest, the total number of German effectives does not exceed the maximum number of 100,000 men laid down in Article 160. In these successive reductions the same ratio between the number of officers and of men, and between the various kinds of units shall be maintained as is laid down in that article.

CHAPTER II.—ARMAMENT, MUNITIONS, AND MATERIAL

ARTICLE 164.—Up till the time at which Germany is admitted as a member of the League of Nations the German Army must not possess an armament greater than the amounts fixed in Table No. 2, annexed to this section, with the exception of an optional increase not exceeding one-twenty-fifth part for small arms and one-fiftieth part for guns, which shall be exclusively used to provide for such eventual replacements as may be necessary.

Germany agrees that after she has become a member of the League of Nations the armaments fixed in the said table shall remain in force until they are modified by the Council of the League. Furthermore she hereby agrees strictly to observe the decisions of the Council of the League on this subject.

ARTICLE 165.—The maximum number of guns, machine guns, trench mortars, rifles, and the amount of ammunition and equipment which Germany is allowed to maintain during the period between the coming into force of the present treaty and the date of March 31, 1920, referred to in Article 160, shall bear the same proportion to the amount authorized in Table No. 3 annexed to this section as the strength of the German Army as reduced from time to time in accordance with Article 163 bears to the strength permitted under Article 160.

ARTICLE 166.—At the date of March 31, 1920, the stock of munitions which the German Army may have at its disposal shall not exceed the amounts fixed in Table No. 3 annexed to this section.

Within the same period the German Government will store these stocks at points to be notified to the Governments of the principal Allied and Associated Powers. The German Government is forbidden to establish any other stocks, depots, or reserves of munitions.

ARTICLE 167.—The number and calibre of the guns constituting at the date of the coming into force of the present treaty the armament of the fortified works, fortresses, and any land or coast forts which Germany is allowed to retain, must be notified immediately by the German Government to the Governments of the principal Allied and Associated Powers, and will constitute

maximum amounts which may not be exceeded.

Within two months from the coming into force of the present treaty the maximum stock of ammunition for these guns will be reduced to, and maintained at, the following uniform rates: Fifteen hundred rounds per piece for those the calibre of which is 10.5 cm. and under; 500 rounds per piece for those of higher calibre.

ARTICLE 168.—The manufacture of arms, munitions, or any war material shall only be carried out in factories or works the locations of which shall be communicated to and approved by the Governments of the principal Allied and Associated Powers, and the number of which they retain the right to restrict.

Within three months from the coming into force of the present treaty all other establishments for the manufacture, preparation, storage, or design of arms, munitions, or any war material whatever shall be closed down. The same applies to all arsenals except those used as depots for the authorized stocks of munitions. Within the same period the personnel of these arsenals will be dismissed.

ARTICLE 169.—Within two months from the coming into force of the present treaty, German arms, munitions, and war materials, including anti-aircraft material, existing in Germany in excess of the quantities allowed must be surrendered to the Governments of the principal Allied and Associated Powers, to be destroyed or rendered useless. This will also apply to any special plant intended for the manufacture of military material, except such as may be recognized as necessary for equipping the authorized strength of the German Army.

The surrender in question will be effected at such points in German territory as may be selected by the said Governments.

Within the same period, arms, munitions, and war material, including anti-aircraft material, of origin other than German, in whatever state they may be, will be delivered to the said Governments, who will decide as to their disposal.

Arms and munitions which on account of the successive reductions in the strength of the German Army become in excess of the amounts authorized by Tables 2 and 3 of the annex must be handed over in the manner laid down above within such periods as may be decided by the conferences referred to in Article 163.

ARTICLE 170.—Importation into Germany of arms, munitions, and war material of every kind shall be strictly prohibited.

The same applies to the manufacture for and export to foreign countries of arms, munitions, and war material of every kind.

ARTICLE 171.—The use of asphyxiating, poisonous or other gases and all analogous liquids, materials or devices being prohibited, their manufacture and importation are strictly forbidden in Germany.

The same applies to materials specially in-

tended for the manufacture, storage, and use of the said products or devices.

The manufacture and the importation into Germany of armored cars, tanks, and all similar constructions suitable for use in war are also prohibited.

ARTICLE 172.—Within a period of three months from the coming into force of the present treaty the German Government will disclose to the Governments of the principal Allied and Associated Powers the nature and mode of manufacture of all explosives, toxic substances or other like chemical preparations used by them in the war or prepared by them for the purpose of being so used.

CHAPTER III.—RECRUITING AND MILITARY TRAINING

ARTICLE 173.—Universal compulsory military service shall be abolished in Germany.

The German Army may only be constituted and recruited by means of voluntary enlistment.

ARTICLE 174.—The period of enlistment for noncommissioned officers and privates must be twelve consecutive years.

The number of men discharged for any reason before the expiration of their term of enlistment must not exceed in any year 5 per cent. of the total effectives as fixed by the second sub-paragraph of Paragraph 1 of Article 160 of the present treaty.

ARTICLE 175.—The officers who are retained in the army must undertake the obligation to serve in it up to the age of forty-five years, at least.

Officers newly appointed must undertake to serve on the active list for twenty-five consecutive years, at least.

Officers who have previously belonged to any formation whatever of the army and who are not retained in the units allowed to be maintained must not take part in any military exercise, whether theoretical or practical, and will not be under any military obligations whatever.

The number of officers discharged for any reason before the expiration of their term of service must not exceed in any year 5 per cent. of the total effectives of officers provided for in the third sub-paragraph of Paragraph 1 of Article 100 of the present treaty.

ARTICLE 176.—On the expiration of two months from the coming into force of the present treaty there must only exist in Germany the number of military schools which is absolutely indispensable for the recruitment of the officers of the units allowed. These schools will be exclusively intended for the recruitment of officers of each arm, in the proportion of one school per arm.

The number of students admitted to attend the courses of the said schools will be strictly in proportion to the vacancies to be filled in the cadres of officers. The students and the cadres will be reckoned in the effectives fixed by the second and third sub-

paragraphs of Paragraph 1 of Article 160 of the present treaty.

Consequently, and during the period fixed above, all military academies or similar institutions in Germany, as well as the different military schools for officers, student officers, (aspiranten,) cadets, noncommissioned officers, or student noncommissioned officers, (aspiranten,) other than the schools above provided for, will be abolished.

ARTICLE 177.—Educational establishments, the universities, societies of discharged soldiers, shooting or touring clubs, and, generally speaking, associations of every description, whatever be the age of their members, must not occupy themselves with any military matters. In particular they will be forbidden to instruct or exercise their members, or to allow them to be instructed or exercised, in the profession or use of arms.

These societies, associations, educational establishments, and universities must have no connection with the Ministries of War or any other military authority.

ARTICLE 178.—All measures of mobilization or appertaining to mobilisation are forbidden.

In no case must formations, administrative services, or general staffs include supplementary cadres.

ARTICLE 179.—Germany agrees, from the coming into force of the present treaty, not to accredit nor to send to any foreign country any military, naval, or air mission, nor to allow any such missions to leave her territory, and Germany further agrees to take appropriate measures to prevent German nationals from leaving her territory to become enrolled in the army, navy, or air service of any foreign power, or to be attached to such army, navy, or air service for the purpose of assisting in the military, naval, or air training thereof, or otherwise for the purpose of giving military, naval, or air instruction in any foreign country.

The Allied and Associated Powers agree, so far as they are concerned, from the coming into force of the present treaty, not to enroll in nor to attach to their armies or naval or air forces any German national for the purpose of assisting in the military training of such armies or naval or air forces, or otherwise to employ any such German national as military, naval, or aeronautic instructor.

The present provision, however, does not affect the right of France to recruit for the Foreign Legion in accordance with French military laws and regulations.

CHAPTER IV.—FORTIFICATIONS

ARTICLE 180.—All fortified works, fortresses, and field works situated in German territory to the west of a line drawn fifty kilometers to the east of the Rhine shall be disarmed and dismantled.

Within a period of two months from the coming into force of the present treaty such of the above fortified works, fortresses, and

field works as are situated in territory not occupied by Allied and Associated troops shall be disarmed, and within a further period of four months they shall be dismantled. Those which are situated in territory occupied by Allied and Associated troops shall be disarmed and dismantled within such periods as may be fixed by the Allied High Command.

The construction of any new fortification, whatever its nature and importance, is forbidden in the zone referred to in the first paragraph above.

The system of fortified works of the southern and eastern frontiers of Germany shall be maintained in its existing state.

TABLE NO. 1

State and Establishment of Army Corps Headquarters Staffs and of Infantry and Cavalry Divisions.

These tabular statements do not form a fixed establishment to be imposed on Germany, but the figures contained in them (number of units and strengths) represent maximum figures, which should not in any case be exceeded.

1. ARMY CORPS HEADQUARTERS STAFFS

Unit.	Maximum No. Authorized.	Max. Strength of Each Unit. Offi- cers. and Men.
Army corps hdq. staffs	2	30 150
Total for hdq. staffs.	..	60 300

2. ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INFANTRY DIVISION

Unit.	Maximum No. of Such Units in a Single Division.	Max. Strength of Each Unit. Offi- cers. and Men.
Hdqs. of inf. div.	1	25 70
Hdqs. of divisional inf.	1	4 30
Hdqs. of divisional art.	1	4 30
Regiment of inf.	3	70 2,300
(Each regiment comprises 3 battalions of infantry. Each battalion comprises 3 companies of infantry and 1 machine-gun company.)		
Trench mortar company	3	6 150
Divisional squadron	1	6 150
Field artillery regiment	1	85 1,300
(Each regiment comprises 3 groups of artillery. Each group comprises 3 batteries.)		
Pioneer battalion	1	12 400
(This battalion comprises 2 companies of pioneers, 1 pontoon detachment, 1 search-light section.)		
Signal detachment	1	12 300
(This detachment comprises 1 telephone detachment, 1 listening section, 1 carrier pigeon section.)		
Divisional Med. Service.	1	20 400
Parks and convoys. ....	..	14 800
Total for infantry div.	..	410 10,830

3. ESTABLISHMENT OF A CAVALRY DIVISION

		Maximum Strength of Each Unit.		
		N.C.O.'s and Men.		
		*Units.	Officers.	Men.
Headquarters of a cavalry division	1	15	50	
Cavalry regiment.....	6	40	800	
(Each regiment comprises four squadrons)				
Horse artillery group, (three batteries)	1	20	400	
Total for cavalry division. .		275	5,250	
*Maximum number of such units in single division.				

TABLE NO. 2.

Tabular statement of armament establishment for a maximum of seven infantry divisions, three cavalry divisions, and two army corps headquarters staffs.

	Inft. Div.	For 7 Inft. Divs.	Cav. Div.	For 3 Cav. Divs.	Total Col- umns 2 & 4.
Material.					
Rifles	12,000	84,000	...	...	84,000
Carbines .....	...	...	6,000	18,000	18,000
Heavy machine guns	108	756	12	36	792
Light machine guns	162	1,134	...	...	1,134
Medium trench mortars	9	63	...	...	63
Light trench mortars	27	189	...	...	189
7.7 cm. guns...	24	168	12	36	204
10.5 cm. howit- zers	12	84	...	...	84
Army corps headquarters staff establishment must be drawn from the increased armaments of the divisional infantry.					

TABLE NO. 3.

Maximum Stocks Authorized

Material.	Maximum Number of Arms Authorized.	Estab- lishment Per Unit, Rounds.	Maximum Totals. Rounds.
Rifles	84,000	400	40,800,000
Carbines	18,000	...	...
Heavy mach. guns.	792	8,000	15,408,000
Light mach. guns.	1,134	...	...
Medium trench mortars	63	400	25,200
Lgt. trench mort's.	189	800	151,200
Field artillery—			
7.7 cm. guns....	204	1,000	204,000
10.5 cm. howitz's.	84	800	67,200

SECTION II.—Naval Clauses

ARTICLE 181.—After the expiration of a period of two months from the coming into force of the present treaty the German naval forces in commission must not exceed: Six battleships of the Deutschland or Lothringen type, six light cruisers, twelve destroyers, twelve torpedo boats, or an equal number of ships constructed to replace them as provided in Article 190.

No submarines are to be included. All other warships except where there is provision to the contrary in the present treaty, must be placed in reserve or devoted to commercial purposes.

ARTICLE 182.—Until the completion of the

minesweeping prescribed by Article 193, Germany will keep in commission such number of minesweeping vessels as may be fixed by the Governments of the principal Allied and Associated Powers.

ARTICLE 183.—After the expiration of a period of two months from the coming into force of the present treaty the total personnel of the German Navy, including the manning of the fleet, coast defenses, signal stations, administration, and other land services, must not exceed 15,000, including officers and men of all grades and corps. The total strength of officers and warrant officers must not exceed 1,500. Within two months from the coming into force of the present treaty the personnel in excess of the above strength shall be demobilized. No naval or military corps or reserve force in connection with the navy may be organized in Germany without being included in the above strength.

ARTICLE 184.—From the date of the coming into force of the present treaty all the German surface warships which are not in German ports cease to belong to Germany, who renounces all rights over them. Vessels which, in compliance with the armistice of Nov. 11, 1918, are now interned in the ports of the Allied and Associated Powers, are declared to be finally surrendered. Vessels which are now interned in neutral ports will be there surrendered to the Governments of the principal Allied and Associated Powers. The German Government must address a notification to that effect to the neutral powers on the coming into force of the present treaty.

ARTICLE 185.—Within a period of two months from the coming into force of the present treaty the German surface warships enumerated below will be surrendered to the Governments of the principal Allied and Associated Powers in such allied ports as the said powers may direct. These warships will have been disarmed as provided in Article 23 of the armistice, dated Nov. 11, 1918. Nevertheless, they must have all their guns on board.

Battleships—Oldenburg, Thuringen, Ostfriesland, Helgoland. Posen, Westfalen, Rheinland, and Nassau.

Light Cruisers—Stettin, Danzig, München, Lübeck, Stralsund, Augsburg, Kolberg, and Stuttgart.

And in addition forty-two modern destroyers and fifty modern torpedo boats, as chosen by the Governments of the principal Allied and Associated Powers.

ARTICLE 186.—On the coming into force of the present treaty the German Government must undertake, under the supervision of the Governments of the principal Allied and Associated Powers, the breaking up of all the German surface warships now under construction.

ARTICLE 187.—The German auxiliary cruisers and fleet auxiliaries enumerated below will be disarmed and treated as merchant ships.

Ships interned in neutral countries: Berlin, Santa Fé, Seydlitz, Yorck.

Ships interned in Germany: Ammon, Fürst Bülow, Answald, Gertrud, Bosnia, Kigoma, Cordoba, Rugia, Cassel, Santa Elena, Dania, Schleswig, Rio Negro, Möwe, Rio Pardo, Sierra Ventana, Santa Cruz, Chemnitz, Schwaben, Eml Georg von Strauss, Solingen, Habsburg, Steigerwald, Meteor, Franken, Waltraute, Gundomar, Scharnhorst.

ARTICLE 188.—On the expiration of one month from the coming into force of the present treaty all German submarines, salvage vessels, and docks for submarines, including the tubular dock, must have been handed over to the Governments of the principal Allied and Associated Powers. Such of these submarines, vessels, and docks as are considered by said Governments to be fit to proceed under their own power or to be towed shall be taken by the German Government into such allied ports as have been indicated. The remainder, and also those in course of construction, shall be broken up entirely by the German Government under the supervision of the said Governments. The breaking up must be completed within three months at the most after the coming into force of the present treaty.

ARTICLE 189.—Articles, machinery, and material arising from the breaking up of German warships of all kinds, whether surface vessels or submarines, may not be used except for purely industrial or commercial purposes. They may not be sold or disposed of to foreign countries.

ARTICLE 190.—Germany is forbidden to construct or acquire any warships other than those intended to replace the units in commission provided for in Article 181 of the present treaty. The warships intended for replacement purposes as above shall not exceed the following displacement: Armored ships, 10,000 tons; light cruisers, 6,000 tons; destroyers, 800 tons; torpedo boats, 200 tons. Except where a ship has been lost, units of the different classes shall only be replaced at the end of a period of twenty years in the case of battleships and cruisers, and fifteen years in the case of destroyers and torpedo boats, counting from the launching of the ship.

ARTICLE 191.—The construction or acquisition of any submarine, even for commercial purposes, shall be forbidden in Germany.

ARTICLE 192.—The warships in commission of the German fleet must only have on board or in reserve the allowance of arms, munitions, and war material fixed by the principal Allied and Associated Powers. Within a month from the fixing of the quantities as above, arms, munitions and war material of all kinds, including mines and torpedoes, now in the hands of the German Government and in excess of the said quantities, shall be surrendered to the Governments of the said powers at places to be indicated by them. Such arms, munitions and war material will

be destroyed or rendered useless. All other stocks, depots or reserves of arms, munitions or naval war material of all kinds are forbidden. The manufacture of these articles in German territory for, and their export to, foreign countries shall be forbidden.

ARTICLE 193.—On the coming into force of the present treaty Germany will forthwith sweep up the mines in the following areas in the North Sea to the eastward of longitude 4 degrees 00 minutes east of Greenwich: (1) Between parallels of latitude 53 degrees 00 minutes N. and 59 degrees 00 minutes N.; (2) to the northward of latitude 60 degrees 30 minutes N. Germany must keep these areas free from mines. Germany must also sweep and keep free from mines such areas in the Baltic as may ultimately be notified by the Governments of the principal Allied and Associated Powers.

ARTICLE 194.—The personnel of the German Navy shall be recruited entirely by voluntary engagements entered into for a minimum period of twenty-five consecutive years for officers and warrant officers, and twelve consecutive years for petty officers and men. The number engaged to replace those discharged for any reason before the expiration of their term of service must not exceed 5 per cent. per annum of the totals laid down in this section. (Article 183.)

The personnel discharged from the navy must not receive any kind of naval or military training or undertake any further service in the navy or army. Officers belonging to the German Navy and not demobilized must engage to serve till the age of 45 unless discharged for sufficient reasons. No officer or man of the German mercantile marine shall receive any training in the navy.

ARTICLE 195.—In order to insure free passage into the Baltic to all nations, Germany shall not erect any fortifications in the area comprised between latitudes 55.27 north and 54.00 north and longitudes 9.00 east and 16.00 east of the meridian of Greenwich, nor install any guns commanding the maritime routes between the North Sea and the Baltic. The fortifications now existing in this area shall be demolished and the guns removed under the supervision of the allied Governments and in periods to be fixed by them. The German Government shall place at the disposal of the Governments of the principal Allied and Associated Powers all hydrographical information now in its possession concerning the channels and adjoining waters between the Baltic and the North Sea.

ARTICLE 196.—All fortified works and fortifications other than those mentioned in Article 195 and in Part III. (political clauses for Europe,) Section XIII., (Heligoland,) now established within fifty kilometers of the German coast or on German islands off that coast, shall be considered of a defensive nature and may remain in their existing condition. No new fortifications shall be constructed within these limits. The armament

of these defenses shall not exceed, as regards the number and calibre of guns, those in position at the date of the coming into force of the present treaty. The German Government shall communicate forthwith particulars thereof to all the European Governments. On the expiration of a period of two months from the coming into force of the present treaty the stocks of ammunition for these guns shall be reduced to and maintained at a maximum figure of fifteen hundred rounds per piece for calibres of 4.1-inch and under, and five hundred rounds per piece for higher calibres.

ARTICLE 197.—During the three months following the coming into force of the present treaty the German high-power wireless telegraphy stations at Liauen, Hanover, and Berlin shall not be used for the transmission of messages concerning naval, military, or political questions of interest to Germany or any State which has been allied to Germany in the war, without the assent of the Governments of the principal Allied and Associated Powers. These stations may be used for commercial purposes, but only under the supervision of the said Governments, who will decide the wave length to be used. During the same period Germany shall not build any more high-power wireless telegraphy stations in her own territory or that of Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, or Turkey.

SECTION III.—*Air Clauses*

ARTICLE 198.—The armed forces of Germany must not include any military or naval air forces. Germany may, during a period not extending beyond Oct. 1, 1919, maintain a maximum number of 100 seaplanes or flying boats, which shall be exclusively employed in searching for submarine mines, shall be furnished with the necessary equipment for this purpose, and shall in no case carry arms, munitions, or bombs of any nature whatever. In addition to the engines installed in the seaplanes or flying boats above mentioned, one spare engine may be provided for each engine of each of these craft. No dirigible shall be kept.

ARTICLE 199.—Within two months from the coming into force of the present treaty the personnel of the air forces on the rolls of the German land and sea forces shall be demobilized. Up to the 1st October, 1919, however, Germany may keep and maintain a total number of 1,000 men, including officers, for the whole of the cadres and personnel, flying and nonflying, of all formations and establishments.

ARTICLE 200.—Until the complete evacuation of German territory by the Allied and Associated troops, the aircraft of the Allied and Associated Powers shall enjoy in Germany freedom of passage through the air, freedom of transit and of landing.

ARTICLE 201.—During the six months following the coming into force of the present treaty the manufacture and importation of

aircraft, parts of aircraft, engines for aircraft, and parts of engines for aircraft shall be forbidden in all German territory.

ARTICLE 202.—On the coming into force of the present treaty all military and naval aeronautical material, except the machines mentioned in the second and third paragraphs of Article 198, must be delivered to the Governments of the principal Allied and Associated Powers. Delivery must be effected at such places as the said Governments may select, and must be completed within three months. In particular, this material will include all items under the following heads, which are or have been in use or were designed for warlike purposes:

Complete airplanes and seaplanes, as well as those being manufactured, repaired, or assembled.

Dirigibles able to take the air being manufactured, repaired, or assembled.

Plant for the manufacture of hydrogen.

Dirigible sheds and shelters of every kind for aircraft.

Pending their delivery, dirigibles will, at the expense of Germany, be maintained inflated with hydrogen; the plant for the manufacture of hydrogen, as well as the sheds for dirigibles, may, at the discretion of said powers, be left to Germany until the time when the dirigibles are handed over.

Engines for aircraft.

Nacelles and fuselages.

Armament, (guns, machine guns, light machine guns, bomb-dropping apparatus, torpedo-dropping apparatus, synchronization apparatus, aiming apparatus.)

Munitions, (cartridges, shells, bombs, loaded or unloaded, stocks of explosives or of material for their manufacture.)

Instruments for use on aircraft.

Wireless apparatus and photographic or cinematograph apparatus for use on aircraft.

Component parts of any of the items under the preceding heads.

The material referred to above shall not be removed without special permission from the said Governments.

SECTION IV.—*Interallied Commissions of Control*

ARTICLE 203.—All the military, naval, and air clauses contained in the present treaty, for the execution of which a time limit is prescribed, shall be executed by Germany under the control of interallied commissions specially appointed for this purpose by the principal Allied and Associated Powers.

ARTICLE 204.—The Interallied Commissions of Control will be specially charged with the duty of seeing to the complete execution of the delivery, destruction, demolition, and rendering things useless to be carried out at the expense of the German Government in accordance with the present treaty. They will communicate to the Ger-

man authorities the decisions which the principal Allied and Associated Powers have reserved the right to take, or which the execution of the military, naval, and air clauses may necessitate.

ARTICLE 205.—The Interallied Commissions of Control may establish their organizations at the seat of the Central German Government. They shall be entitled as often as they think desirable to proceed to any point whatever in German territory, or to send sub-commissions, or to authorize one or more of their members to go, to any such point.

ARTICLE 206.—The German Government must give all necessary facilities for the accomplishment of their missions to the Interallied Commissions of Control and to their members. It shall attach a qualified representative to each Interallied Commission of Control for the purpose of receiving the communications which the commission may have to address to the German Government, and of supplying or procuring for the commission all information or documents which may be required. The German Government must in all cases furnish at its own cost all labor and material required to effect the deliveries and the work of destruction, dismantling, demolition, and of rendering things useless, provided for in the present treaty.

ARTICLE 207.—The upkeep and cost of the Commissions of Control and the expenses involved by their work shall be borne by Germany.

ARTICLE 208.—The Military Interallied Commission of Control will represent the Governments of the principal Allied and Associated Powers in dealing with the German Government in all matters concerning the execution of the military clauses. In particular it will be its duty to receive from the German Government the notifications relating to the location of the stocks and depots of munitions, the armament of the fortified works, fortresses and forts which Germany is allowed to retain, and the location of the works or factories for the production of arms, munitions and war material and their operations. It will take delivery of the arms, munitions, and war material, will select the points where such delivery is to be effected, and will supervise the works of destruction and demolition and of rendering things useless which are to be carried out in accordance with the present treaty. The German Government must furnish to the Military Interallied Commission of Control all such information and documents as the latter may deem necessary to insure the complete execution of the military clauses, and in particular all legislative and administrative documents and regulations.

ARTICLE 209.—The Naval Interallied Commission of Control will represent the Governments of the principal Allied and Associated Powers in dealing with the German Government in all matters concerning the

execution of the naval clauses. In particular it will be its duty to proceed to the building yards and to supervise the breaking up of the ships which are under construction there, to take delivery of all surface ships or submarines, salvage ships, docks and the tubular dock, and to supervise the destruction and breaking up provided for. The German Government must furnish to the Naval Interallied Commission of Control all such information and documents as the commission may deem necessary to insure the complete execution of the naval clauses, in particular the designs of the warships, the composition of their armaments, the details and models of the guns, munitions, torpedoes, mines, explosives, wireless telegraphic apparatus and in general everything relating to naval war material, as well as all legislative or administrative documents or regulations.

ARTICLE 210.—The Aeronautical Interallied Commission of Control will represent the Governments of the principal Allied and Associated Powers in dealing with the German Government in all matters concerning the execution of the air clauses. In particular it will be its duty to make an inventory of the aeronautical material existing in German territory, to inspect airplane, balloon, and motor manufacturing, and factories producing arms, munitions, and explosives capable of being used by aircraft, to visit all aerodromes, sheds, landing grounds, parks, and depots, to authorize, where necessary, a removal of material, and to take delivery of such material. The German Government must furnish to the Aeronautical Interallied Commission of Control all such information and legislative, administrative or other documents which the commission may consider necessary to insure the complete execution of the air clauses, and, in particular, a list of the personnel belonging to all the German air services, and of the existing material as well as of that in process of manufacture or on order, and a list of all establishments working for aviation, of their positions, and of all sheds and landing grounds.

SECTION V.—General Articles

ARTICLE 211.—After the expiration of a period of three months from the coming into force of the present treaty, the German laws must have been modified and shall be maintained in conformity with this part of the present treaty. Within the same period all the administrative or other measures relating to the execution of this part of the treaty must have been taken.

ARTICLE 212.—The following portions of the armistice of Nov. 11, 1918: Article VI., the first two and the sixth and seventh paragraphs of Article VII., Article IX., Clauses I., II., and V. of Annex No. 2 and the protocol, dated April 4, 1919, supplementing the armistice of Nov. 11, 1918, remain in force so far

as they are not inconsistent with the above stipulations.

ARTICLE 213.—So long as the present treaty remains in force, Germany undertakes

to give every facility for any investigation which the Council of the League of Nations, acting if need be by a majority vote, may consider necessary.

PART VI.—Prisoners of War and Graves

SECTION I.—Prisoners of War

ARTICLE 214.—The repatriation of prisoners of war and interned civilians shall take place as soon as possible after the coming into force of the present treaty and shall be carried out with the greatest rapidity.

ARTICLE 215.—The repatriation of German prisoners of war and interned civilians shall, in accordance with Article 214, be carried out by a commission composed of representatives of the Allied and Associated Powers on the one part, and of the German Government on the other part.

For each of the Allied and Associated Powers a subcommission composed exclusively of representatives of the interested powers and of delegates of the German Government shall regulate the details of carrying into effect the repatriation of the prisoners of war.

ARTICLE 216.—From the time of their delivery into the hands of the German authorities the prisoners of war and interned civilians are to be returned without delay to their homes by the said authorities. Those among them who before the war were habitually resident in territory occupied by the troops of the Allied and Associated Powers are likewise to be sent to their homes, subject to the consent and control of the military authorities of the Allied and Associated Armies of Occupation.

ARTICLE 217.—The whole cost of repatriation from the moment of starting shall be borne by the German Government, who shall also provide the land and sea transport and staff considered necessary by the commission referred to in Article 215.

ARTICLE 218.—Prisoners of war and interned civilians awaiting disposal or undergoing sentences for offenses against discipline shall be repatriated irrespective of the completion of their sentence or of the proceedings pending against them.

This stipulation shall not apply to prisoners of war and interned civilians punished for offenses committed subsequent to May 1, 1919.

During the period pending their repatriation all prisoners of war and interned civilians shall remain subject to the existing regulations, more especially as regards work and discipline.

ARTICLE 219.—Prisoners of war and interned civilians who are awaiting disposal or undergoing sentence for offenses other than those against discipline may be detained.

ARTICLE 220.—The German Government

undertakes to admit to its territory without distinction all persons liable to repatriation.

Prisoners of war or other German nationals who do not desire to be repatriated may be excluded from repatriation; but the Allied and Associated Governments reserve to themselves the right either to repatriate them or to take them to a neutral country or to allow them to reside in their own territories.

The German Government undertakes not to institute any exceptional proceedings against these persons or their families nor to take any repressive or vexatious measures of any kind whatsoever against them on this account.

ARTICLE 221.—The Allied and Associated Governments reserve the right to make the repatriation of German prisoners of war or German nationals in their hands conditional upon the immediate notification and release by the German Government of any prisoners of war who are nationals of the Allied and Associated Powers and may still be in Germany.

ARTICLE 222.—Germany undertakes:

1. To give every facility to the commissions to inquire into the cases of those who cannot be traced; to furnish such commissions with all necessary means of transport; to allow them access to camps, prisons, hospitals, and all other places; and to place at their disposal all documents, whether public or private, which would facilitate their inquiries.

2. To impose penalties upon any German officials or private persons who have concealed the presence of any nationals of any of the Allied and Associated Powers, or have neglected to reveal the presence of any such after it had come to their knowledge.

ARTICLE 223.—Germany undertakes to restore without delay from the date of the coming into force of the present treaty all articles, money, securities, and documents which have belonged to nationals of the Allied and Associated Powers and which have been retained by the German authorities.

ARTICLE 224.—The high contracting parties waive reciprocally all repayment of sums due for the maintenance of prisoners of war in their respective territories.

SECTION II.—Graves

ARTICLE 225.—The Allied and Associated Governments and the German Government will cause to be respected and maintained the graves of the soldiers and sailors buried in their respective territories.

They agree to recognize any commission appointed by an Allied or Associated Government for the purpose of identifying, registering, caring for, or erecting suitable memorials over the said graves and to facilitate the discharge of its duties.

Furthermore, they agree to afford, so far as the provisions of their laws and the requirements of public health allow, every facility for giving effect to requests that the bodies of their soldiers and sailors may be transferred to their own countries.

ARTICLE 226.—The graves of prisoners of war and interned civilians who are nationals

of the different belligerent States and have died in captivity shall be properly maintained in accordance with Article 225 of the present treaty.

The Allied and Associated Governments on the one part, and the German Government on the other part, reciprocally undertake also to furnish to each other:

1. A complete list of those who have died, together with all information useful for identification.

2. All information as to the number and position of the graves of all those who have been buried without identification.

PART VII.—Penalties

ARTICLE 227.—The Allied and Associated Powers publicly arraign William II. of Hohenzollern, formerly German Emperor, for a supreme offense against international morality and the sanctity of treaties.

A special tribunal will be constituted to try the accused, thereby assuring him the guarantees essential to the right of defense. It will be composed of five judges, one appointed by each of the following powers: The United States of America, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan.

In its decision, the tribunal will be guided by the highest motives of international policy with a view to vindicating the solemn obligations of international undertakings and the validity of international morality. It will be its duty to fix the punishment which it considers should be imposed.

The Allied and Associated Powers will address a request to the Government of the Netherlands for the surrender to them of the ex-Emperor in order that he may be put on trial.

ARTICLE 228.—The German Government recognizes the right of the Allied and Associated Powers to bring before military tribunals persons accused of having committed acts in violation of the laws and customs of war. Such persons shall, if found guilty, be sentenced to punishments laid down by

law. This provision will apply, notwithstanding any proceedings or prosecution before a tribunal in Germany or in the territory of her allies.

The German Government shall hand over to the Allied and Associated Powers or to such one of them as shall so request, all persons accused of having committed an act in violation of the laws and customs of war who are specified either by name or by the rank, office, or employment which they held under the German authorities.

ARTICLE 229.—Persons guilty of criminal acts against the nationals of one of the Allied and Associated Powers will be brought before the military tribunals of that power.

Persons guilty of criminal acts against the nationals of more than one of the Allied and Associated Powers will be brought before military tribunals composed of members of the military tribunals of the powers concerned.

In every case the accused will be entitled to name his own counsel.

ARTICLE 230.—The German Government undertakes to furnish all documents and information of every kind, the production of which may be considered necessary to insure the full knowledge of the incriminating acts, the discovery of offenders, and the just appreciation of responsibility.

PART VIII.—Reparation

SECTION I.—General Provisions

ARTICLE 231.—The Allied and Associated Governments affirm, and Germany accepts, the responsibility of Germany and her allies for causing all the loss and damage to which the Allied and Associated Governments and their nationals have been subjected as a consequence of the war imposed upon them by the aggression of Germany and her allies.

ARTICLE 232.—The Allied and Associated Governments recognize that the resources of

Germany are not adequate, after taking into account permanent diminutions of such resources which will result from other provisions of the present treaty, to make complete reparation for all such loss and damage.

The Allied and Associated Governments, however, require, and Germany undertakes, that she will make compensation for all damage done to the civilian population of the Allied and Associated Powers and to their property during the period of the belligerency of each as an Allied or Associated Power against Germany by such aggression by land,

by sea, and from the air, and in general all damage as defined in Annex I. hereto.

In accordance with Germany's pledges, already given as to complete restoration for Belgium, Germany undertakes, in addition to the compensation for damage elsewhere in this chapter provided for, as a consequence of the violation of the treaty of 1839, to make reimbursement of all sums which Belgium has borrowed from the Allied and Associated Governments up to Nov. 11, 1918, together with interest at the rate of 5 per cent. per annum on such sums. This amount shall be determined by the Reparation Commission, and the German Government undertakes thereupon forthwith to make a special issue of bearer bonds to an equivalent amount payable in marks gold, on May 1, 1926, or, at the option of the German Government, on the 1st of May in any year up to 1926. Subject to the foregoing, the form of such bonds shall be determined by the Reparation Commission. Such bonds shall be handed over to the Reparation Commission, which has authority to take and acknowledge receipt thereof on behalf of Belgium.

ARTICLE 233.—The amount of the above damage for which compensation is to be made by Germany shall be determined by an interallied commission, to be called the Reparation Commission, and constituted in the form and with the power set forth hereunder and in Annexes II. to VII. inclusive hereto.

This commission shall consider the claims and give to the German Government a just opportunity to be heard.

The findings of the commission as to the amount of damage defined as above shall be concluded and notified to the German Government on or before the 1st May, 1921, as representing the extent of that Government's obligations.

The commission shall concurrently draw up a schedule of payments prescribing the time and manner for securing and discharging the entire obligation within a period of thirty years from the 1st May, 1921. If, however, within the period mentioned, Germany fails to discharge her obligations, any balance remaining unpaid may, within the discretion of the commission, be postponed for settlement in subsequent years, or may be handled otherwise in such manner as the Allied and Associated Governments, acting in accordance with the procedure laid down in this part of the present treaty, shall determine.

ARTICLE 234.—The Reparation Commission shall after the 1st May, 1921, from time to time, consider the resources and capacity of Germany and, after giving her representatives a just opportunity to be heard, shall have discretion to extend the date and to modify the form of payments, such as are to be provided for in accordance with Article 233; but not to cancel any part, except with the specific authority of the several Governments represented upon the commission.

ARTICLE 235.—In order to enable the Allied and Associated Powers to proceed at once to the restoration of their industrial and economic life, pending the full determination of their claims, Germany shall pay in such installments and in such manner (whether in gold, commodities, ships, securities, or otherwise) as the Reparation Commission may fix, during 1919, 1920, and the first four months of 1921, the equivalent of 20,000,000,000 gold marks.

Out of this sum the expenses of the armies of occupation subsequent to the armistice of the 11th November, 1918, shall first be met, and such supplies of food and raw materials as may be judged by the Governments of the principal Allied and Associated Powers to be essential to enable Germany to meet her obligations for reparation may also, with the approval of the said Governments, be paid for out of the above sum. The balance shall be reckoned toward liquidation of the amounts due for reparation.

Germany shall further deposit bonds as prescribed in Paragraph 12 (c) of Annex II. hereto.

ARTICLE 236.—Germany further agrees to the direct application of her economic resources to reparation as specified in Annexes III., IV., V., and VI., relating respectively to merchant shipping, to physical restoration, and to coal and derivatives of coal, and to dyestuffs and other chemical products; provided always that the value of the property transferred and any services rendered by her under these annexes, assessed in the manner therein prescribed, shall be credited to her toward liquidation of her obligations under the above articles.

ARTICLE 237.—The successive installments, including the above sum, paid over by Germany in satisfaction of the above claims, will be divided by the Allied and Associated Governments in proportions which have been determined upon by them in advance on a basis of general equity and of the rights of each.

For the purposes of this division the value of property transferred and services rendered under Article 243 and under Annexes III., IV., V., VI., and VII. shall be reckoned in the same manner as cash payments effected in that year.

ARTICLE 238.—In addition to the payments mentioned above, Germany shall effect, in accordance with the procedure laid down by the Reparation Commission, restitution in cash of cash taken away, seized, or sequestered, and also restitution of animals, objects of every nature, and securities taken away, seized, or sequestered, in the cases in which it proves possible to identify them in territory belonging to Germany or her allies.

Until this procedure is laid down restitution will continue in accordance with the provisions of the armistice of 11th of November, 1918, and its renewals and the protocols thereto.

ARTICLE 239.—Germany undertakes to make forthwith the restitution contemplated

by Article 238 and to make the payments and deliveries contemplated by Articles 233, 234, 235, and 236.

ARTICLE 240.—Germany recognizes the commission provided for by Article 233 as the same may be constituted by the Allied and Associated Governments in accordance with Annex II. and agrees irrevocably to the possession and exercise by such commission of the power and authority given to it under the present treaty. The German Government will supply to the commission all the information which the commission may require relative to the financial situation and operations and to the property, productive capacity, and stocks and current production of raw materials and manufactured articles of Germany and her nationals, and, further, any information relative to military operations which in the judgment of the commission may be necessary for the assessment of Germany's liability for reparation as defined in Annex I.

The German Government will accord to the members of the commission and its authorized agents the same rights and immunities as are enjoyed in Germany by duly accredited diplomatic agents of friendly powers. Germany further agrees to provide for the salaries and expenses of the commission, and of such staff as it may employ.

ARTICLE 241.—Germany undertakes to pass, issue, and maintain in force any legislation, orders, and decrees that may be necessary to give complete effect to these present.

ARTICLE 242.—The provisions of this part of the present treaty do not apply to the property, rights, and interests referred to in Sections III. and IV. of Part X. (economic clauses) of the present treaty, nor to the product of their liquidation, except so far as concerns any final balance in favor of Germany under Article 243, (a.)

ARTICLE 243.—The following shall be reckoned as credits to Germany in respect of her reparation obligations:

(a) Any final balance in favor of Germany under Sections III. and IV. of Part X. (economic clauses) and Section V. (Alsace-Lorraine) of Part III., (political clauses for Europe.)

(b) Amounts due to Germany in respect of transfers under Part IX., (financial clauses,) Part XII., (ports, waterways, and railways,) and Section IV. (Sarre Basin) of Part III., (political clauses for Europe.)

(c) Amounts which in the judgment of the Reparation Commission should be credited to Germany on account of any other transfers under the present treaty of property, rights, concessions, or other interests.

In no case, however, shall credit be given for property restored in accordance with Article 238.

ARTICLE 244.—The transfer of the German submarine cables which do not form the subject of particular provisions of the present treaty is regulated by Annex VII. hereto.

ANNEX I.

Compensation may be claimed from Ger-

many under Article 232 above in respect of the total damage under the following categories:

1. Damage to injured persons and to surviving dependents by personal injury to or death of civilians caused by acts of war, including bombardments or other attacks on land, on sea, or from the air, and all the direct consequences thereof, and of all operations of war by the two groups of belligerents wherever arising.

2. Damage caused by Germany or her allies to civilian victims of acts of cruelty, violence, or maltreatment, (including injuries to life or health as a consequence of imprisonment, deportation, internment, or evacuation, of exposure at sea, or of being forced to labor by Germany or her allies,) wherever arising, and to the surviving dependents of such victims.

3. Damage caused by Germany of her allies in their own territory or in occupied or invaded territory to civilian victims of all acts injurious to health or capacity to work, or to honor, as well as to the surviving dependents of such victims.

4. Damage caused by any kind of maltreatment of prisoners of war.

5. As damage caused to the peoples of the Allied and Associated Powers, all pensions and compensations in the nature of pensions to naval and military victims of war, (including members of the air forces,) whether mutilated, wounded, sick, or invalided, and to the dependents of such victims, the amount due to the Allied and Associated Governments being calculated for each of them as being the capitalized cost of such pensions and compensations at the date of the coming into force of the present treaty, on the basis of the scales in force in France at such date.

6. The cost of assistance by the Governments of the Allied and Associated Powers to prisoners of war and to their families and dependents.

7. Allowances by the Governments of the Allied and Associated Powers to the families and dependents of mobilized persons or persons serving with the forces, the amount due to them for each calendar year in which hostilities occurred being calculated for each Government on the basis of the average scale for such payments in force in France during that year.

8. Damage caused to civilians by being forced by Germany or her allies to labor without just remuneration.

9. Damage in respect of all property, wherever situated, belonging to any of the Allied or Associated States or their nationals, with the exception of naval and military works or materials, which have been carried off, seized, injured, or destroyed by the acts of Germany or her allies on land, on sea, or from the air, or damage directly in consequence of hostilities or of any operations of war.

10. Damage in the form of levies, fines and

other similar exactions imposed by Germany or her allies upon the civilian population.

ANNEX II.

1. The commission referred to in Article 233 shall be called "The Reparation Commission," and is hereinafter referred to as "the commission."

2. Delegates to the commission shall be nominated by the United States of America, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Belgium, and the Serb-Croat-Slovene State. Each of these powers will appoint one delegate and also one assistant delegate, who will take his place in case of illness or necessary absence, but at other times will only have the right to be present at proceedings without taking any part therein. On no occasion shall the delegates of more than five of the above powers have the right to take part in the proceedings of the commission and to record their votes. The delegates of the United States, Great Britain, France, and Italy shall have this right on all occasions. The delegate of Belgium shall have this right on all occasions other than those referred to below. The delegate of Japan shall have this right on occasions when questions relating to damage at sea and questions arising under Article 260 of Part IX. (financial clauses) in which Japanese interests are concerned are under consideration. The delegate of the Serb-Croat-Slovene State shall have this right when questions relating to Austria, Hungary, or Bulgaria are under consideration.

Each Government represented on the commission shall have the right to withdraw therefrom upon twelve months' notice, filed with the commission and confirmed in the course of the sixth month after the date of the original notice.

3. Such of the other Allied and Associated Powers as may be interested shall have the right to appoint a delegate to be present and act as assessor only while their respective claims and interests are under examination or discussion, but without the right to vote.

4. In case of the death, resignation or recall of any delegate, assistant delegate, or assessor, a successor to him shall be nominated as soon as possible.

5. The commission will have its principal permanent bureau in Paris and will hold its first meeting in Paris as soon as practicable after the coming into force of the present treaty, and thereafter will meet in such place or places and at such time as it may deem convenient and as may be necessary for the most expeditious discharge of its duties.

6. At its first meeting the commission shall elect from among the delegates referred to above a Chairman and a Vice Chairman, who shall hold office for one year and shall be eligible for re-election. If a vacancy in the Chairmanship or Vice Chairmanship should occur during the annual period the commission shall proceed to a new election for the remainder of the said period.

7. The commission is authorized to appoint all necessary officers, agents, and employees who may be required for the execution of its functions, and to fix their remuneration; to constitute committees, whose members need not necessarily be members of the commission, and to take all executive steps necessary for the purpose of discharging its duties, and to delegate authority and discretion to officers, agents, and committees.

8. All proceedings of the commission shall be private unless, on particular occasions, the commission shall otherwise determine for special reasons.

9. The commission shall be required, if the German Government so desire, to hear, within a period which it will fix from time to time, evidence and arguments on the part of Germany on any question connected with her capacity to pay.

10. The commission shall consider the claims and give to the German Government a just opportunity to be heard, but not to take any part whatever in the decisions of the commission. The commission shall afford a similar opportunity to the allies of Germany when it shall consider that their interests are in question.

11. The commission shall not be bound by any particular code or rules of law or by any particular rule of evidence or of procedure, but shall be guided by justice, equity, and good faith. Its decisions must follow the same principles and rules in all cases where they are applicable. It will establish rules relating to methods of proof of claims. It may act on any trustworthy modes of computation.

12. The commission shall have all the powers conferred upon it, and shall exercise all the functions assigned to it by the present treaty.

The commission shall in general have wide latitude as to its control and handling of the whole reparation problem as dealt with in this part of the present treaty, and shall have authority to interpret its provisions. Subject to the provisions of the present treaty, the commission is constituted by the several Allied and Associated Governments referred to in Paragraphs 2 and 3 above as the exclusive agency of the said Governments respectively for receiving, selling, holding, and distributing the reparation payments to be made by Germany under this part of the present treaty. The commission must comply with the following conditions and provisions:

(a) Whatever part of the full amount of the proved claims is not paid in gold, or in ships, securities, and commodities or otherwise, Germany shall be required, under such conditions as the commission may determine, to cover by way of guarantee by an equivalent issue of bonds, obligations, or otherwise, in order to constitute an acknowledgment of the said part of the debt:

(b) In periodically estimating Germany's capacity to pay, the commission shall exam-

line the German system of taxation, first to the end that the sums for reparation which Germany is required to pay shall become a charge upon all her revenues prior to that for the service or discharge of any domestic loan, and, secondly, so as to satisfy itself that, in general, the German scheme of taxation is fully as heavy proportionately as that of any of the powers represented on the commission.

(c) In order to facilitate and continue the immediate restoration of the economic life of the Allied and Associated countries, the commission will, as provided in Article 235, take from Germany by way of security for and acknowledgment of her debt a first installment of gold bearer bonds free of all taxes or charges of every description established or to be established by the Government of the German Empire or of the German States, or by any authority subject to them; these bonds will be delivered on account and in three portions, the marks gold being payable in conformity with Article 262 of Part IX. (financial clauses) of the present treaty, as follows:

First. To be issued forthwith, 20,000,000,000 marks gold bearer bonds, payable not later than May 1, 1921, without interest. There shall be specially applied toward the amortization of these bonds the payments which Germany is pledged to make in conformity with Article 235, after deduction of the sums used for the reimbursement of expenses of the armies of occupation and for payment of foodstuffs and raw materials. Such bonds as have not been redeemed by May 1, 1921, shall then be exchanged for new bonds of the same type as those provided for below, (Paragraph 12, c. second.)

Second. To be issued forthwith, further 40,000,000,000 marks gold bearer bonds, bearing interest at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum between 1921 and 1926, and thereafter at 5 per cent. per annum, with an additional 1 per cent. for amortization beginning in 1926 on the whole amount of the issue.

Third. To be delivered forthwith a covering undertaking in writing, to issue when, but not until, the commission is satisfied that Germany can meet such interest and sinking fund obligations, a further installment of 40,000,000,000 marks gold 5 per cent. bearer bonds, the time and mode of payment of principal and interest to be determined by the commission.

The dates for payment of interest, the manner of applying the amortization fund, and all other questions relating to the issue, management, and regulation of the bond issue shall be determined by the commission from time to time.

Further issues by way of acknowledgment and security may be required as the commission subsequently determines from time to time.

(d) In the event of bonds, obligations, or other evidence of indebtedness issued by Germany by way of security for or acknowl-

edgment of her reparation debt being disposed of outright, not by way of pledge, to persons other than the several Governments in whose favor Germany's original reparation indebtedness was created, an amount of such reparation indebtedness shall be deemed to be extinguished corresponding to the nominal value of the bonds, &c., so disposed of outright, and the obligation of Germany in respect of such bonds shall be confined to her liabilities to the holders of the bonds, as expressed upon their face.

(e) The damage for repairing, reconstructing, and rebuilding property in the invaded and devastated districts, including reinstallation of furniture, machinery and other equipment, will be calculated according to the cost at the dates when the work is done.

(f) Decisions of the commission relating to the total or partial cancellation of the capital or interest of any verified debt of Germany must be accompanied by a statement of its reasons.

13. As to voting, the commission will observe the following rules:

When a decision of the commission is taken, the votes of all the delegates entitled to vote, or in the absence of any of them, of their assistant delegates, shall be recorded. Abstention from voting is to be treated as a vote against the proposal under discussion. Assessors have no vote.

On the following questions unanimity is necessary:

(a) Questions involving the sovereignty of any of the Allied and Associated Powers, or the cancellation of the whole or any part of the debt or obligations of Germany.

(b) Questions of determining the amount and conditions of bonds or other obligations to be issued by the German Government and of fixing the time and manner for selling, negotiating, or distributing such bonds.

(c) Any postponement, total or partial, beyond the end of 1930, of the payment of installments falling due between the 1st May, 1921, and the end of 1926 inclusive.

(d) Any postponement, total or partial, of any installment falling due after 1926 for a period exceeding three years.

(e) Questions of applying in any particular case a method of measuring damages different from that which has been previously applied in a similar case.

(f) Questions of the interpretation of the provisions of this part of the present treaty.

All other questions shall be decided by the vote of a majority.

In case of any difference of opinion among the delegates, which cannot be solved by reference to their Governments, upon the question whether a given case is one which requires a unanimous vote for its decision or not, such difference shall be referred to the immediate arbitration of some impartial person to be agreed upon by the Governments, whose award the Allied and Associated Governments agree to accept.

14. Decisions of the commission, in ac-

cordance with the powers conferred upon it, shall forthwith become binding and may be put into immediate execution without further proceedings.

15. The commission will issue to each of the interested powers, in such form as the commission shall fix:

First. A certificate stating that it holds for the account of the said power bonds of the issues mentioned above, the said certificate, on the demand of the power concerned, being divisible in a number of parts not exceeding five;

Second. From time to time certificates stating the goods delivered by Germany on account of her reparation debt which it holds for the account of the said power.

The said certificates shall be registered, and, upon notice to the commission, may be transferred by indorsement.

When bonds are issued for sale or negotiation, and when goods are delivered by the commission, certificates to an equivalent value must be withdrawn.

16. Interest shall be debited to Germany as from 1st May, 1921, in respect of her debt as determined by the commission, after allowing for sums already covered by cash payments or their equivalent, or by bonds issued to the commission, or under Article 243. The rate of interest shall be 5 per cent., unless the commission shall determine at some future time that circumstances justify a variation of this rate.

The commission, in fixing on 1st May, 1921, the total amount of the debt of Germany, may take account of interest due on sums arising out of the reparation of material damage as from 11th November, 1918, up to 1st May, 1921.

17. In case of default by Germany in the performance of any obligation under this part of the present treaty, the commission will forthwith give notice of such default to each of the interested powers and may make such recommendations as to the action to be taken in consequence of such default as it may think necessary.

18. The measures which the Allied and Associated Powers shall have the right to take, in case of voluntary default by Germany, and which Germany agrees not to regard as acts of war, may include economic and financial prohibitions and reprisals and in general such other measures as the respective Governments may determine to be necessary in the circumstances.

19. Payments required to be made in gold or its equivalent on account of the proved claims of the Allied and Associated Powers may at any time be accepted by the commission in the form of chattels, properties, commodities, businesses, rights, concessions, within or without German territory, ships, bonds, shares, or securities of any kind, or currencies of Germany or other States, the value of such substitutes for gold being fixed at a fair and just amount by the commission itself.

20. The commission, in fixing or accepting payment in specified properties or rights, shall have due regard for any legal or equitable interests of the Allied and Associated Powers or of neutral powers or of their nationals therein.

21. No member of the commission shall be responsible, except to the Government appointing him, for any action or omission as such member. No one of the Allied or Associated Governments assumes any responsibility in respect of any other Government.

22. Subject to the provisions of the present treaty this annex may be amended by the unanimous decision of the Governments represented from time to time upon the commission.

23. When all the amounts due from Germany and her allies under the present treaty or the decisions of the commission have been discharged and all sums received, or their equivalents, shall have been distributed to the powers interested, the commission shall be dissolved.

ANNEX III.

1. Germany recognizes the right of the Allied and Associated Powers to the replacement, ton for ton (gross tonnage) and class for class, of all merchant ships and fishing boats lost or damaged owing to the war.

Nevertheless, and in spite of the fact that the tonnage of German shipping at present in existence is much less than that lost by the Allied and Associated Powers in consequence of the German aggression, the right thus recognized will be enforced on German ships and boats under the following conditions:

The German Government on behalf of themselves and so as to bind all other persons interested, cede to the Allied and Associated Governments the property in all the German merchant ships which are of 1,600 tons gross and upward; in one-half, reckoned in tonnage, of the ships which are between 1,000 tons and 1,600 tons gross; in one-quarter, reckoned in tonnage, of the steam trawlers, and in one-quarter, reckoned in tonnage, of the other fishing boats.

2. The German Government will, within two months of the coming into force of the present treaty, deliver to the Reparation Commission all the ships and boats mentioned in Paragraph 1.

3. The ships and boats mentioned in Paragraph 1 include all ships and boats which (a) fly, or may be entitled to fly, the German merchant flag; or (b) are owned by any German national, company, or corporation or by any company or corporation belonging to a country other than an Allied or Associated country and under the control or direction of German nationals; or (c) which are now under construction (1) in Germany, (2) in other than Allied or Associated countries for the account of any German national, company, or corporation.

4. For the purpose of providing documents

of title for the ships and boats to be handed over as above mentioned the German Government will:

(a) Deliver to the Reparation Commission in respect of each vessel a bill of sale or other document of title evidencing the transfer to the commission of the entire property in the vessel free from all incumbrances, charges, and liens of all kinds, as the commission may require;

(b) Take all measures that may be indicated by the Reparation Commission for insuring that the ships themselves shall be placed at its disposal.

5. As an additional part of reparation, Germany agrees to cause merchant ships to be built in German yards for the account of the Allied and Associated Governments as follows:

(a) Within three months of the coming into force of the present treaty, the Reparation Commission will notify to the German Government the amount of tonnage to be laid down in German shipyards in each of the two years next succeeding the three months mentioned above;

(b) Within twenty-four months of the coming into force of the present treaty, the Reparation Commission will notify to the German Government the amount of tonnage to be laid down in each of the three years following the two years mentioned above;

(c) The amount of tonnage to be laid down in each year shall not exceed 200,000 tons, gross tonnage;

(d) The specifications of the ships to be built, the conditions under which they are to be built and delivered, the price per ton at which they are to be accounted for by the Reparation Commission, and all other questions relating to the accounting, ordering, building and delivery of the ships, shall be determined by the commission.

6. Germany undertakes to restore in kind and in normal condition of upkeep to the Allied and Associated Powers, within two months of the coming into force of the present treaty, in accordance with procedure to be laid down by the Reparation Commission, any boats and other movable appliances belonging to inland navigation which since the 1st August, 1914, have by any means whatever come into her possession or into the possession of her nationals, and which can be identified.

With a view to make good the loss in inland navigation tonnage, from whatever cause arising, which has been incurred during the war by the Allied and Associated Powers, and which cannot be made good by means of the restitution prescribed above, Germany agrees to cede to the Reparation Commission a portion of the German river fleet up to the amount of the loss mentioned above, provided that such cession shall not exceed 20 per cent. of the river fleet as it existed on the 11th November, 1918.

The condition of this session shall be settled by the arbitrators referred to in Article

339 of Part XII. (ports, waterways and railways) of the present treaty, who are charged with the settlement of difficulties relating to the apportionment of river tonnage resulting from the new international régime applicable to certain river systems or from the territorial changes affecting those systems.

7. Germany agrees to take any measures that may be indicated to her by the Reparation Commission for obtaining the full title to the property in all ships which have been during the war transferred, or are in process of transfer, to neutral flags, without the consent of the Allied and Associated Governments.

8. Germany waives all claims of any description against the Allied and Associated Governments and their nationals in respect of the detention, employment, loss or damage of any German ships or boats, except when being made of payments due in respect of the employment of ships in conformity with the armistice agreement of the 13th January, 1919, and subsequent agreements.

The handing over of the ships of the German mercantile marine must be continued without interruption in accordance with the said agreement.

9. Germany waives all claims to vessels or cargoes sunk by or in consequence of naval action and subsequently salvaged, in which any of the Allied or Associated Governments or their nationals may have any interest, either as owners, charterers, insurers or otherwise, notwithstanding any decree of condemnation which may have been made by a prize court of Germany or of her allies.

ANNEX IV.

1. The Allied and Associated Powers require, and Germany undertakes, that, in part satisfaction of her obligations expressed in this part of the present treaty, she will, as hereinafter provided, devote her economic resources directly to the physical restoration of the invaded areas of the Allied and Associated Powers, to the extent that these powers may determine.

2. The Allied and Associated Governments may file with the Reparation Commission lists showing:

(a) Animals, machinery, equipment, tools, and like articles of commercial character, which have been seized, consumed, or destroyed by Germany or destroyed in direct consequence of military operations, and which such Governments, for the purpose of meeting immediate and urgent needs, desire to have replaced by animals and articles of the same nature which are in being in German territory at the date of the coming into force of the present treaty;

(b) Reconstruction materials, (stones, bricks, refractory bricks, tiles, wood, window glass, steel, lime, cement, &c.,) machinery, heating apparatus, furniture, and like articles of a commercial character which the said Governments desire to have produced and

manufactured in Germany and delivered to them to permit of the restoration of the invaded areas.

3. The lists relating to the articles mentioned in 2 (a), above, shall be filed within sixty days after the date of the coming into force of the present treaty. The lists relating to the articles in 2 (b), above, shall be filed on or before Dec. 31, 1919. The lists shall contain all such details as are customary in commercial contracts dealing with the subject matter, including specifications, dates of delivery, (but not extending over more than four years,) and places of delivery, but not price or value, which shall be fixed as hereinafter provided by the commission.

4. Immediately upon the filing of such lists with the commission, the commission shall consider the amount and number of the materials and animals mentioned in the lists provided for above which are to be required of Germany. In reaching a decision on this matter the commission shall take into account such domestic requirements of Germany as it deems essential for the maintenance of Germany's social and economic life, and the prices and dates at which similar articles can be obtained in the Allied and Associated countries as compared with those to be fixed for German articles, and the general interest of the Allied and Associated Governments that the industrial life of Germany be not so disorganized as to affect adversely the ability of Germany to perform the other acts of reparation stipulated for. Machinery, equipment, tools, and like articles of a commercial character in actual industrial use are not, however, to be demanded of Germany unless there is no free stock of such articles respectively which is not in use and is available, and then not in excess of 30 per cent. of the quantity of such articles in use in any one establishment or undertaking.

The commission shall give representatives of the German Government an opportunity and a time to be heard as to their capacity to furnish the said materials, articles, and animals. The decision of the commission shall thereupon and at the earliest possible moment be communicated to the German Government and to the several interested Allied and Associated Governments. The German Government undertakes to deliver the materials, articles, and animals as specified in the said communication, and the interested Allied and Associated Governments severally agree to accept the same, provided they conform to the specification given, or are not, in the judgment of the commission, unfit to be utilized in the work of reparation.

5. The commission shall determine the value to be attributed to the materials, articles, and animals to be delivered in accordance with the foregoing, and the Allied or Associated Power receiving the same agrees to be charged with such value, and the amount thereof shall be treated as a payment

by Germany to be divided in accordance with Article 237 of this part of the present treaty.

In cases where the right to require physical restoration as above provided is exercised the commission shall insure that the amount to be credited against the reparation obligation of Germany shall be the fair value of work done or materials supplied by Germany and that the claim made by the interested power in respect of the damage so repaired by physical restoration shall be discharged to the extent of the proportion which the damage thus repaired bears to the whole of the damage thus claimed for.

6. As an immediate advance on account of the animals referred to in Paragraph 2 (a) above, Germany undertakes to deliver in equal monthly installments in the three months following the coming into force of the present treaty the following quantities of live stock:

First. To the French Government, 500 stallions, (3 to 7 years,) 30,000 fillies and mares, (18 months to 7 years,) type: Ardennais, Boulonnais, or Belgian; 2,000 bulls, (18 months to 3 years,) 90,000 milch cows, (2 to 6 years,) 1,000 rams, 100,000 sheep, 10,000 goats.

Second. To the Belgian Government, 200 stallions, (3 to 7 years,) large Belgian type; 5,000 mares, (3 to 7 years,) large Belgian type; 5,000 fillies, (18 months to 3 years,) large Belgian type; 2,000 bulls, (18 months to 3 years,) 50,000 milch cows, (2 to 6 years,) 40,000 heifers, 200 rams, 20,000 sheep, 15,000 sows.

The animals delivered shall be of average health and condition. To the extent that animals so delivered cannot be identified as animals taken away or seized, the value of such animals shall be credited against the reparation obligations of Germany in accordance with Paragraph 5 of this annex.

7. Without waiting for the decisions of the commission, referred to in Paragraph 4 of this annex, to be taken, Germany must continue the delivery to France of the agricultural material referred to in Article 3 of the renewal of the armistice of 16th January, 1919.

ANNEX V.

1. Germany accords the following options for the delivery of coal and derivatives of coal to the undermentioned signatories of the present treaty.

2. Germany undertakes to deliver to France 7,000,000 tons of coal per year for ten years. In addition, Germany undertakes to deliver to France annually for a period not exceeding ten years an amount of coal equal to the difference between the annual production before the war of the coal mines of the Nord and Pas de Calais, destroyed as a result of the war, and the production of the mines of the same area during the years in question; such delivery not to exceed 20,000,000 tons in any one year of the first five years, and 8,000,000 tons in any one year of the succeeding five years.

It is understood due diligence will be exercised in the restoration of the destroyed mines in the Nord and Pas de Calais.

3. Germany undertakes to deliver to Belgium 8,000,000 tons of coal annually for ten years.

4. Germany undertakes to deliver to Italy up to the following quantities of coal:

July, 1919, to June, 1920, 4,500,000 tons.

July, 1920, to June, 1921, 6,000,000 tons.

July, 1921, to June, 1922, 7,500,000 tons. ³⁴⁵

July, 1922, to June, 1923, 8,000,000 tons.

July, 1923, to June, 1924, 8,500,000 tons.

and each of the following five years, 8,500,000 tons.

At least two-thirds of the actual deliveries to be land borne.

5. Germany further undertakes to deliver annually to Luxembourg, if directed by the Reparation Commission, a quantity of coal equal to the pre-war annual consumption of German coal in Luxembourg.

6. The prices to be paid for coal delivered under these options shall be as follows:

(a) For overland delivery, including delivery by barge, the German pithead price to German nationals, plus the freight to French, Belgian, Italian, or Luxemburg frontiers, provided the pithead price does not exceed the pithead price of British coal for export. In case of Belgian bunker coal, the price shall not exceed the Dutch bunker price. Railroad and barge tariffs shall not be higher than the lowest similar rates paid in Germany.

(b) For sea delivery, the German export price f. o. b. the German ports, or the British export price f. o. b. British ports, whichever may be lower.

7. The Allied and Associated Governments interested may demand the delivery in place of coal of metallurgical coke in the proportion of three tons of coke to four tons of coal.

8. Germany undertakes to deliver to France and to transport to the French frontier by rail or by water the following products during each of the three years following the coming into force of this treaty:

Benzol—35,000 tons.

Coal tar—50,000 tons.

Sulphate of ammonia—30,000 tons.

All or part of the coal tar may, at the option of the French Government, be replaced by corresponding quantities of products of distillation, such as light oils, heavy oils, anthracine, naphthaline, or pitch.

9. The price paid for coke and for the articles referred to in the preceding paragraphs shall be the same as the price paid by German nationals under the same conditions of shipment to the French frontier or to the German ports, and shall be subject to any advantages which may be accorded similar products furnished to German nationals.

10. The foregoing options shall be exercised through the intervention of the Reparation Commission, which, subject to the specific

provisions hereof, shall have power to determine all questions relative to procedure and the qualities and quantities of products, the quantity of coke which may be substituted for coal, and the times and modes of delivery and payment. In giving notice to the German Government of the foregoing options the commission shall give at least 120 days' notice of deliveries to be made after the 1st January, 1920, and at least thirty days' notice of deliveries to be made between the coming into force of this treaty and the 1st January, 1920. Until Germany has received the demands referred to in this paragraph the provisions of the protocol of the 25th December, 1918, (execution of Article 6 of the armistice of the 11th November, 1918,) remain in force.

The notice to be given to the German Government of the exercise of the right of substitution accorded by Paragraphs 7 and 8 shall be such as the Reparation Commission may consider sufficient.

If the commission shall determine that the full exercise of the foregoing options would interfere unduly with the industrial requirements of Germany, the commission is authorized to postpone or to cancel deliveries, and in so doing to settle all questions of priority, but the coal to replace coal from destroyed mines shall receive priority over other deliveries.

ANNEX VI.

1. Germany accords to the Reparation Commission an option to require as part of reparation the delivery by Germany of such quantities and kinds of dyestuffs and chemical drugs as the commission may designate, not exceeding 50 per cent. of the total stock of each and every kind of dyestuff and chemical drug in Germany or under German control at the date of the coming into force of the present treaty.

This option shall be exercised within sixty days of the receipt by the commission of such particulars as to stocks as may be considered necessary by the commission.

2. Germany further accords to the Reparation Commission an option to require delivery during the period from the date of the coming into force of the present treaty until Jan. 1, 1920, and during each period of six months thereafter until Jan. 1, 1925, of any specified kind of dyestuff and chemical drug up to an amount not exceeding 25 per cent. of the German production of such dyestuffs and chemical drugs during the previous six months' period. If in any case the production during such previous six months was, in the opinion of the commission, less than normal, the amount required may be 25 per cent. of the normal production.

Such option shall be exercised within four weeks after the receipt of such particulars as to production and in such form as may be considered necessary by the commission; these particulars shall be furnished by the German Government immediately after the expiration of each six months' period.

3. For dyestuffs and chemical drugs delivered under Paragraph 1 the price shall be fixed by the commission, having regard to pre-war net export prices and to subsequent increases of cost.

For dyestuffs and chemical drugs delivered under Paragraph 2 the price shall be fixed by the commission, having regard to pre-war net export prices and subsequent variations of cost or the lowest net selling price of similar dyestuffs and chemical drugs to any other purchaser.

4. All details, including mode and times of exercising the options and making delivery, and all other questions arising under this arrangement shall be determined by the Reparation Commission; the German Government will furnish to the commission all necessary information and other assistance which it may require.

5. The above expression "dyestuffs and chemical drugs" includes all synthetic dyes and drugs and intermediate or other products used in connection with dyeing, so far as they are manufactured for sale. The present arrangement shall also apply to cinchona bark and salts of quinine.

ANNEX VII.

Germany renounces on her own behalf and on behalf of her nationals in favor of the principal Allied and Associated Powers all rights, titles or privileges of whatever nature in the submarine cables set out below, or in any portions thereof:

Emden-Vigo: from the Straits of Dover to off Vigo;

Emden-Brest: from off Cherbourg to Brest;

Emden-Teneriffe: from off Dunkirk to off Teneriffe;

Emden-Azores (1): from the Straits of Dover to Fayal;

Emden-Azores (2): from the Straits of Dover to Fayal;

Azores-New York (1): from Fayal to New York;

Azores-New York (2): from Fayal to the longitude of Halifax;

Teneriffe-Monrovia: from off Teneriffe to off Monrovia;

Monrovia-Lome: from about latitude 2 degrees 30 minutes north, and longitude 7 degrees 40 minutes west of Greenwich,

to about latitude 2 degrees 20 minutes north, and longitude 5 degrees 30 minutes west of Greenwich,

and from about latitude 3 degrees 48 minutes north, and longitude 0 degrees 0 minutes to Lome;

Lome-Duala: from Lome to Duala;

Monrovia-Pernambuco: from off Monrovia to off Pernambuco;

Constantinople-Constanza: from Constantinople to Constanza;

Yap-Shanghai, Yap-Guam, and Yap-Menado (Celebes): from Yap Island to Shanghai, from Yap Island to Guam Island, and from Yap Island to Menado.

The value of the above-mentioned cables or portions thereof in so far as they are privately owned, calculated on the basis of the original cost less a suitable allowance for depreciation, shall be credited to Germany in the reparation account.

SECTION II.—*Special Provisions*

ARTICLE 245.—Within six months after coming into force of the present treaty the German Government must restore to the French Government the trophies, archives, historical souvenirs, or works of art carried away from France by the German authorities in the course of the war of 1870-1871 and during this last war, in accordance with a list which will be communicated to it by the French Government; particularly the French flags taken in the course of the war of 1870-1871, and all the political papers taken by the German authorities on Oct. 10, 1870, at the Château of Cercay, near Brunoy, (Seine-et-Oise,) belonging at the time to M. Rouher, formerly Minister of State.

ARTICLE 246.—Within six months of the coming into force of the present treaty Germany will restore to his Majesty the King of the Hedjaz the original Koran of the Caliph Othman, which was removed from Medina by the Turkish authorities and is stated to have been presented to the ex-Emperor William II.

Within the same period Germany will hand over to his Britannic Majesty's Government the skull of the Sultan Mkwawa, which was removed from the protectorate of German East Africa and taken to Germany.

The delivery of the articles above referred to will be effected in such place and in such conditions as may be laid down by the Governments to which they are to be restored.

ARTICLE 247.—Germany undertakes to furnish to the University of Louvain, within three months after a request made by it and transmitted through the intervention of the Reparation Commission, manuscripts, incunabula, printed books, maps, and objects of collection corresponding in number and value to those destroyed in the burning by Germany of the library of Louvain. All details regarding such replacement will be determined by the Reparation Commission.

Germany undertakes to deliver to Belgium, through the Reparation Commission, within six months of the coming into force of the present treaty, in order to enable Belgium to reconstitute her two great artistic works:

(a) The leaves of the triptych of the Mystic Lamb painted by the Van Eyck Brothers, formerly in the Church of St. Bavon at Ghent, now in the Berlin Museum.

(b) The leaves of the triptych of the Last Supper, painted by Dierick Bouts, formerly in the Church of St. Peter at Louvain, two of which are now in the Berlin Museum and two in the old Pinakothek at Munich.

PART IX.—Financial Clauses

ARTICLE 248.—Subject to such exceptions as the Reparation Commission may approve, a first charge upon all the assets and revenues of the German Empire and its constituent States shall be the cost of reparation and all other costs arising under the present treaty or any treaties or agreements supplementary thereto or under arrangements concluded between Germany and the Allied and Associated Powers during the armistice or its extensions.

Up to May 1, 1921, the German Government shall not export or dispose of, and shall forbid the export or disposal of, gold without the previous approval of the Allied and Associated Powers acting through the Reparation Commission.

ARTICLE 249.—There shall be paid by the German Government the total cost of all armies of the Allied and Associated Governments in occupied German territory from the date of the signature of the armistice of the 11th November, 1918, including the keep of men and beasts, lodging and billeting, pay and allowances, salaries and wages, bedding, heating, lighting, clothing, equipment, harness and saddlery, armament and rolling stock, air services, treatment of sick and wounded, veterinary and remount services, transport service of all sorts, (such as by rail, sea, river, or motor lorries,) communications and correspondence, and in general the cost of all administrative or technical services, the working of which is necessary for the training of troops and for keeping their numbers up to strength and preserving their military efficiency.

The cost of such liabilities under the above heads, so far as they relate to purchases or requisitions by the Allied and Associated Governments in the occupied territories, shall be paid by the German Government to the Allied and Associated Governments in marks at the current or agreed rate of exchange. All other of the above costs shall be paid in gold marks.

ARTICLE 250.—Germany confirms the surrender of all material handed over to the Allied and Associated Powers in accordance with the armistice agreement of the 11th November, 1918, and subsequent armistice agreements, and recognizes the title of the Allied and Associated Powers to such material.

There shall be credited to the German Government against the sums due from it to the Allied and Associated Powers for reparation, the value, as assessed by the Reparation Commission referred to in Article 233 of Part VIII. (reparation) of the present treaty, of the material handed over in accordance with Article 7 of the armistice agreement of the 11th November, 1918, Article 3 of the armistice agreement of the 16th January, 1919, as well as of any other material handed over in accordance with the armistice agreement of the 11th November, 1918, and of subsequent armistice agreements, for which,

as having non-military value, credit should, in the judgment of the Reparation Commission, be allowed to the German Government.

Property belonging to the Allied and Associated Governments or their nationals restored or surrendered under the armistice agreements in specie shall not be credited to the German Government.

ARTICLE 251.—The priority of the charges established by Article 248 shall, subject to the qualifications made below, be as follows:

(a) The cost of the armies of occupation as defined under Article 249 during the armistice and its extensions;

(b) The cost of any armies of occupation as defined under Article 249 after the coming into force of the present treaty;

(c) The cost of reparation arising out of the present treaty or any treaties or conventions supplementary thereto;

(d) The cost of all other obligations incumbent on Germany under the armistice conventions or under this treaty or any treaties or conventions supplementary thereto.

The payment for such supplies of food and raw material for Germany and such other payments as may be judged by the Allied and Associated Powers to be essential to enable Germany to meet her obligations in respect of reparation will have priority to the extent and upon the conditions which have been or may be determined by the Governments of the said powers.

ARTICLE 252.—The right of each of the Allied and Associated Powers to dispose of enemy assets and property within its jurisdiction at the date of the coming into force of the present treaty is not affected by the foregoing provisions.

ARTICLE 253.—Nothing in the foregoing provisions shall prejudice in any manner charges or mortgages lawfully effected in favor of the Allied and Associated Powers or their nationals respectively, before the date at which a state of war existed between Germany and the Allied and Associated Powers concerned, by the German Empire or its constituent States, or by German nationals on assets in their ownership at that date.

ARTICLE 254.—The powers to which German territory is ceded shall, subject to the qualifications made in Article 255, undertake to pay:

1. A portion of the debt of the German Empire as it stood on the 1st August, 1914, calculated on the basis of the ratio between the average for the three financial years 1911, 1912, 1913, of such revenues of the ceded territory and the average for the same years of such revenues of the whole German Empire as in the judgment of the Reparation Commission are best calculated to represent the relative ability of the respective territories to make payments.

2. A portion of the debt as it stood on the 1st August, 1914, of the German State to which the ceded territory belonged, to be de-

terminated in accordance with the principle stated above.

Such portions shall be determined by the Reparation Commission.

The method of discharging the obligation both in respect of capital and of interest, so assumed, shall be fixed by the Reparation Commission. Such method may take the form, *inter alia*, of the assumption by the power to which the territory is ceded of Germany's liability for the German debt held by her nationals. But in the event of the method adopted involving any payments to the German Government, such payments shall be transferred to the Reparation Commission on account of the sums due for reparation so long as any balance in respect of such sums remains unpaid.

ARTICLE 255.—1. As an exception to the above provision and inasmuch as in 1871 Germany refused to undertake any portion of the burden of the French debt, France shall be, in respect of Alsace-Lorraine, exempt from any payment under Article 254.

2. In the case of Poland that portion of the debt which, in the opinion of the Reparation Commission is attributable to the measures taken by the German and Prussian Governments for the German colonization of Poland shall be excluded from the apportionment to be made under Article 254.

3. In the case of all ceded territories other than Alsace-Lorraine that portion of the debt of the German Empire or German States which in the opinion of the Reparation Commission represents expenditure by the Governments of the German Empire or States upon the Government properties referred to in Article 256 shall be excluded from the apportionment to be made under Article 254.

ARTICLE 256.—Powers to which German territory is ceded shall acquire all property and possessions situated therein belonging to the German Empire or to the German States, and the value of such acquisitions shall be fixed by the Reparation Commission, and paid by the State acquiring the territory to the Reparation Commission for the credit of the German Government on account of the sums due for reparation.

For the purposes of this article the property and possessions of the German Empire and States shall be deemed to include all the property of the Crown, the Empire or the States, and the private property of the former German Emperor and other royal personages.

In view of the terms on which Alsace-Lorraine was ceded to Germany in 1871 France shall be exempt in respect thereof from making any payment or credit under this article for any property or possessions of the German Empire or States situated therein. Belgium also shall be exempt from making any payment or any credit under this article for any property or possessions of the German Empire or States situated in German territory ceded to Belgium under the present treaty.

ARTICLE 257.—In the case of the former German territories, including colonies, protectorates, or dependencies, administered by a mandatory under Article 22 of Part I. (League of Nations) of the present treaty, neither the territory nor the mandatory power shall be charged with any portion of the debt of the German Empire or States.

All property and possessions belonging to the German Empire or to the German States situated in such territory shall be transferred with the territories to the Mandatory Power in its capacity as such, and no payment shall be made nor any credit given to those Governments in consideration of this transfer.

For the purpose of this article the property and possessions of the German Empire and of the German States shall be deemed to include all the property of the crown, the empire or the States and the private property of the former German Emperor and other royal personages.

ARTICLE 258.—Germany renounces all rights accorded to her or her nationals by treaties, conventions or agreements, of whatsoever kind, to representation upon or participation in the control or administration of commissions, state banks, agencies or other financial or economic organizations of an international character, exercising powers of control or administration, and operating in any of the Allied or Associated States, or in Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria or Turkey, or in the dependencies of these States, or in the former Russian Empire.

ARTICLE 259.—1. Germany agrees to deliver within one month from the date of the coming into force of the present treaty, to such authority as the principal Allied and Associated Powers may designate, the sum in gold which was to be deposited in the Reichsbank in the name of the Council of the Administration of the Ottoman Public Debt as security for the first issue of Turkish Government currency notes.

2. Germany recognizes her obligation to make annually for the period of twelve years the payments in gold for which provision is made in the German Treasury bonds deposited by her from time to time in the name of the Council of the Administration of the Ottoman Public Debt as security for the second and subsequent issues of Turkish Government currency notes.

3. Germany undertakes to deliver, within one month from the coming into force of the present treaty, to such authority as the principal Allied and Associated Powers may designate, the deposit gold constituted in the Reichsbank or elsewhere, representing the residue of the advance in gold agreed to on the 5th of May, 1915, by the Council of the Administration of the Ottoman Public Debt to the Imperial Ottoman Government.

4. Germany agrees to transfer to the principal Allied and Associated Powers any title that she may have to the sum in gold and silver transmitted by her to the Turkish Ministry of Finance in November, 1918, in anticipation of the payment to be made in

May, 1919, for the service of the Turkish internal loan.

5. Germany undertakes to transfer to the principal Allied and Associated Powers within a period of one month from the coming into force of the present treaty, any sums in gold transferred as pledge or as collateral security to the German Government or its nationals in connection with loans made by them to the Austro-Hungarian Government.

6. Without prejudice to Article 292 of Part X. (economic clauses) of the present treaty, Germany confirms the renunciation provided for in Article XV. of the armistice convention of the 11th November, 1918, of any benefit disclosed by the treaties of Bucharest and of Brest-Litovsk, and by the treaties supplementary thereto.

Germany undertakes to transfer, either to Rumania or to the principal Allied and Associated Powers, as the case may be, all monetary instruments, specie, securities and negotiable instruments or goods which she has received under the aforesaid treaties.

7. The sums of money and all securities, instruments and goods of whatever nature, to be delivered, paid and transferred under the provisions of this article, shall be disposed of by the principal Allied and Associated Powers in a manner hereafter to be determined by these powers.

ARTICLE 260.—Without prejudice to the renunciation of any rights by Germany on behalf of herself or of her nationals in the other provisions of the present treaty, the Reparation Commission may, within one year from the coming into force of the present treaty, demand that the German Government become possessed of any rights and interests of the German nationals in any public utility undertaking or in any concession operating in Russia, China, Turkey, Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria, or in the possessions or dependencies of these States or in any territory formerly belonging to Germany or her allies, to be ceded by Germany or her allies to any power, or to be administered by a mandatory under the present treaty, and may require that the German Government transfer, within six months of the date of demand, all such rights and interests and any similar rights and interests the German Government may itself possess, to the Reparation Commission.

Germany shall be responsible for indemnifying her nationals so dispossessed and the Reparation Commission shall credit Germany on account of sums due for reparation with such sums in respect of the value of the transferred rights and interests as may be assessed by the Reparation Commission, and the German Government shall, within six months from the coming into force of the present treaty, communicate to the Reparation Commission all such rights and interests, whether already granted, contingent, or not yet exercised, and shall renounce on behalf of itself and its nationals in favor of the Allied and Associated Powers all such rights and interests which have not been so communicated.

ARTICLE 261.—Germany undertakes to transfer to the Allied and Associated Powers any claims she may have to payment or repayment by the Governments of Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, Turkey, and, in particular any claims which may arise, now or hereafter, from the fulfillment of undertakings made by Germany during the war to those Governments.

ARTICLE 262.—Any monetary obligation due by Germany arising out of the present treaty and expressed in terms of gold marks shall be payable at the option of the creditors in pounds sterling payable in London; gold dollars of the United States of America payable in New York; gold francs payable in Paris, or gold lire payable in Rome.

For the purpose of this article, the gold coins mentioned above shall be defined as being of the weight and fineness of gold as enacted by law on the 1st January, 1914.

ARTICLE 263.—Germany gives a guarantee to the Brazilian Government that all sums representing the sale of coffee belonging to the State of Sao Paulo in the Ports of Hamburg, Bremen, Antwerp, and Trieste, which were deposited with the Bank of Bleichröder at Berlin, shall be reimbursed, together with interest at the rate or rates agreed upon.

Germany, having prevented the transfer of the sums in question to the State of Sao Paulo at the proper time, guarantees also that the reimbursements shall be effected at the rate of exchange of the day of the deposit.

PART X.—Economic Clauses

SECTION I.—Commercial Relations

CHAPTER I.—CUSTOMS REGULATIONS, DUTIES, AND RESTRICTIONS

ARTICLE 264.—Germany undertakes that goods the produce or manufacture of any one of the Allied or Associated States imported into German territory, from whatsoever place arriving, shall not be sub-

jected to other or higher duties or charges (including internal charges) than those to which the like goods the produce or manufacture of any other such State or of any other foreign country are subject.

Germany will not maintain or impose any prohibition or restriction on the importation into German territory of any goods the produce or manufacture of the territories of any one of the Allied or Associated States, from whatsoever place arriving, which shall

not equally extend to the importation of the like goods the produce or manufacture of any other such State or of any other foreign country.

ARTICLE 265.—Germany further undertakes that, in the matter of the régime applicable on importation, no discrimination against the commerce of any of the Allied and Associated States as compared with any other of the said States or any other foreign country shall be made, even by indirect means, such as customs regulations or procedure, methods of verification or analysis, conditions of payment of duties, tariff classification or interpretation, or the operation of monopolies.

ARTICLE 266.—In all that concerns exportation Germany undertakes that goods, natural products or manufactured articles, exported from German territory to the territories of any one of the Allied or Associated States shall not be subjected to other or higher duties or charges (including internal charges) than those paid on the like goods exported to any other such State or to any other foreign country.

Germany will not maintain or impose any prohibition or restriction on the exportation of any goods sent from her territory to any one of the Allied or Associated States which shall not equally extend to the exportation of the like goods, natural products or manufactured articles, sent to any other such State or to any other foreign country.

ARTICLE 267.—Every favor, immunity, or privilege in regard to the importation, exportation, or transit of goods granted by Germany to any Allied or Associated State or to any other foreign country whatever shall simultaneously and unconditionally, without request and without compensation, be extended to all the Allied and Associated States.

ARTICLE 268.—The provisions of Articles 264 to 267 inclusive of this chapter and of Article 323 of Part XII. (ports, waterways, and railways) of the present treaty are subject to the following exceptions:

(a) For a period of five years from the coming into force of the present treaty, natural or manufactured products which both originate in and come from the territories of Alsace and Lorraine reunited to France shall, on importation into German customs territory, be exempt from all customs duty.

The French Government shall fix each year, by decree communicated to the German Government, the nature and amount of the products which shall enjoy this exemption.

The amount of each product which may be thus sent annually into Germany shall not exceed the average of the amounts sent annually in the years 1911-1913.

Further, during the period above mentioned the German Government shall allow the free export from Germany, and the free reimportation into Germany, exempt from all customs duties and other charges, (including internal charges,) of yarns, tissues, and other

textile materials or textile products of any kind and in any condition, sent from Germany into the territories of Alsace or Lorraine, to be subjected there to any finishing process, such as bleaching, dyeing, printing, mercerization, gassing, twisting, or dressing.

(b) During a period of three years from the coming into force of the present treaty natural or manufactured products which both originate in and come from Polish territories which before the war were part of Germany shall, on importation into German customs territory, be exempt from all customs duty.

The Polish Government shall fix each year, by decree communicated to the German Government, the nature and amount of the products which shall enjoy this exemption.

The amount of each product which may be thus sent annually into Germany shall not exceed the average of the amounts sent annually in the years 1911-1913.

(c) The Allied and Associated Powers reserve the right to require Germany to accord freedom from customs duty, on importation into German customs territory, to natural products and manufactured articles which both originate in and come from the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, for a period of five years from the coming into force of the present treaty.

The nature and amount of the products which shall enjoy the benefits of this régime shall be communicated each year to the German Government.

The amount of each product which may be thus sent annually into Germany shall not exceed the average of the amounts sent annually in the years 1911-1913.

ARTICLE 269.—During the first six months after the coming into force of the present treaty, the duties imposed by Germany on imports from Allied and Associated States shall not be higher than the most favorable duties which were applied to imports into Germany on the 31st July, 1914.

During a further period of thirty months after the expiration of the first six months, this provision shall continue to be applied exclusively with regard to products which, being comprised in Section A of the First Category of the German Customs Tariff of the 25th December, 1902, enjoyed at the above-mentioned date (31st July, 1914) rates conventionalized by treaties with the Allied and Associated Powers, with the addition of all kinds of wine and vegetable oils, of artificial silk and of washed or scoured wool, whether or not they were the subject of special conventions before the 31st July, 1914.

ARTICLE 270.—The Allied and Associated Powers reserve the right to apply to German territory occupied by their troops a special customs régime as regards imports and exports, in the event of such a measure being necessary in their opinion in order to safeguard the economic interests of the population of these territories.

CHAPTER II.—SHIPPING

ARTICLE 271.—As regards sea fishing, maritime coasting trade, and maritime towage, vessels of the Allied and Associated Powers shall enjoy, in German territorial waters, the treatment accorded to vessels of the most-favored nation.

ARTICLE 272.—Germany agrees that, notwithstanding any stipulation to the contrary contained in the conventions relating to the North Sea fisheries and liquor traffic, all rights of inspection and police shall, in the case of fishing boats of the Allied Powers, be exercised solely by ships belonging to those powers.

ARTICLE 273.—In the case of vessels of the Allied or Associated Powers, all classes of certificates or documents relating to the vessel, which were recognized as valid by Germany before the war, or which may hereafter be recognized as valid by the principal maritime States, shall be recognized by Germany as valid and as equivalent to the corresponding certificates issued to German vessels.

A similar recognition shall be accorded to the certificates and documents issued to their vessels by the Governments of new States, whether they have a seacoast or not, provided that such certificates and documents shall be issued in conformity with the general practice observed in the principal maritime States.

The high contracting parties agree to recognize the flag flown by the vessels of an Allied or Associated Power having no seacoast which are registered at some one specified place situated in its territory; such place shall serve as the port of registry of such vessels.

CHAPTER III.—UNFAIR COMPETITION

ARTICLE 274.—Germany undertakes to adopt all the necessary legislative and administrative measures to protect goods the produce or manufacture of any one of the Allied and Associated Powers from all forms of unfair competition in commercial transactions.

Germany undertakes to prohibit and repress by seizure and by other appropriate remedies the importation, exportation, manufacture, distribution, sale or offering for sale in its territory of all goods bearing upon themselves or their usual get-up or wrappings any marks, names, devices, or descriptions whatsoever which are calculated to convey directly or indirectly a false indication of the origin, type, nature, or special characteristics of such goods.

ARTICLE 275.—Germany undertakes on condition that reciprocity is accorded in these matters to respect any law, or any administrative or judicial decision given in conformity with such law, in force in any Allied or Associated State and duly communicated to her by the proper authorities, defining or reg-

ulating the right to any regional appellation in respect of wine or spirits produced in the State to which the region belongs or the conditions under which the use of any such appellation may be permitted; and the importation, exportation, manufacture, distribution, sale or offering for sale of products or articles bearing regional appellations inconsistent with such law or order shall be prohibited by the German Government and repressed by the measures prescribed in the preceding article.

CHAPTER IV.—TREATMENT OF NATIONALS OF ALLIED AND ASSOCIATED POWERS

ARTICLE 276.—Germany undertakes:

(a) not to subject the nationals of the Allied and Associated Powers to any prohibition in regard to the exercise of occupations, professions, trade, and industry, which shall not be equally applicable to all aliens without exception;

(b) not to subject the nationals of the Allied and Associated Powers in regard to the rights referred to in Paragraph (a) to any regulation or restriction which might contravene directly or indirectly the stipulations of the said paragraph, or which shall be other or more disadvantageous than those which are applicable to nationals of the most-favored nation;

(c) not to subject the nationals of the Allied and Associated Powers, their property, rights, or interests, including companies and associations in which they are interested, to any charge, tax, or impost, direct or indirect, other or higher than those which are or may be imposed on her own nationals or their property, rights, or interests;

(d) not to subject the nationals of any one of the Allied and Associated Powers to any restriction which was not applicable on July 1, 1914, to the nationals of such powers unless such restriction is likewise imposed on her own nationals.

ARTICLE 277.—The nationals of the Allied and Associated Powers shall enjoy in German territory a constant protection for their persons and for their property, rights, and interests, and shall have free access to the courts of law.

ARTICLE 278.—Germany undertakes to recognize any new nationality which has been or may be acquired by her nationals under the laws of the Allied and Associated Powers, and in accordance with the decisions of the competent authorities of these powers pursuant to naturalization laws or under treaty stipulations, and to regard such persons as having, in consequence of the acquisition of such new nationality, in all respects severed their allegiance to their country of origin.

ARTICLE 279.—The Allied and Associated Powers may appoint Consuls General, Consuls, Vice Consuls, and Consular Agents in German towns and ports. Germany undertakes to approve the designation of the Con-

suls General, Consuls, Vice Consuls, and Consular Agents, whose names shall be notified to her, and to admit them to the exercise of their functions in conformity with the usual rules and customs.

CHAPTER V.—GENERAL ARTICLES

ARTICLE 280.—The obligations imposed on Germany by Chapter I. and by Articles 271 and 272 of Chapter II. above shall cease to have effect five years from the date of the coming into force of the present treaty, unless otherwise provided in the text, or unless the Council of the League of Nations shall, at least twelve months before the expiration of that period, decide that these obligations shall be maintained for a further period with or without amendment.

Article 276 of Chapter IV. shall remain in operation, with or without amendment, after the period of five years for such further period, if any, not exceeding five years, as may be determined by a majority of the Council of the League of Nations.

ARTICLE 281.—If the German Government engages in international trade, it shall not in respect thereof have or be deemed to have any rights, privileges, or immunities of sovereignty.

SECTION II.—*Treaties*

ARTICLE 282.—From the coming into force of the present treaty and subject to the provisions thereof the multilateral treaties, conventions, and agreements of an economic or technical character enumerated below and in the subsequent articles shall alone be applied as between Germany and those of the Allied and Associated Powers party thereto:

1. Conventions of March 14, 1864; Dec. 1, 1886, and March 23, 1887, and final protocol of July 7, 1887, regarding the protection of submarine cables.

2. Convention of Oct. 11, 1909, regarding the international circulation of motor cars.

3. Agreement of May 15, 1886, regarding the sealing of railway trucks subject to customs inspection, and protocol of May 18, 1907.

4. Agreement of May 15, 1886, regarding the technical standardization of railways.

5. Convention of July 5, 1890, regarding the publication of customs tariffs and the organization of an international union for the publication of customs tariffs.

6. Convention of Dec. 31, 1913, regarding the unification of commercial statistics.

7. Convention of April 25, 1907, regarding the raising of the Turkish customs tariff.

8. Convention of March 14, 1857, for the redemption of toll dues on the sound and belts.

9. Convention of June 22, 1861, for the redemption of the stade toll on the Elbe.

10. Convention of July 16, 1863, for the redemption of toll dues on the Scheldt.

11. Convention of Oct. 29, 1888, regarding the establishment of a definite arrangement guaranteeing the free use of the Suez Canal.

12. Convention of Sept. 23, 1910, respecting

the unification of certain regulations regarding collisions and salvage at sea.

13. Convention of Dec. 21, 1904, regarding the exemption of hospital ships from dues and charges in ports.

14. Convention of Feb. 4, 1898, regarding the tonnage measurement of vessels for inland navigation.

15. Convention of Sept. 26, 1906, for the suppression of nightwork for women.

16. Convention of Sept. 26, 1906, for the suppression of the use of white phosphorus in the manufacture of matches.

17. Conventions of May 18, 1904, and May 4, 1910, regarding the suppression of the white slave traffic.

18. Convention of May 4, 1910, regarding the suppression of obscene publications.

19. Sanitary conventions of January, 1892; April 15, 1893; April 3, 1894; April 19, 1897, and Dec. 3, 1903.

20. Convention of May 20, 1875, regarding the unification and improvement of the metric system.

21. Convention of Nov. 29, 1906, regarding the unification of pharmacopoeial formulae for potent drugs.

22. Convention of Nov. 16 and 19, 1885, regarding the establishment of a concert pitch.

23. Convention of June 7, 1905, regarding the creation of an International Agricultural Institute at Rome.

24. Conventions of Nov. 3, 1881, and April 15, 1889, regarding precautionary measures against phylloxera.

25. Convention of March 19, 1902, regarding the protection of birds useful to agriculture.

26. Convention of June 12, 1902, as to the protection of minors.

ARTICLE 283.—From the coming into force of the present treaty the high contracting parties shall apply the conventions and agreements hereinafter mentioned, in so far as concerns them, on condition that the special stipulations contained in this article are fulfilled by Germany.

Postal Conventions:

Conventions and agreements of the Universal Postal Union concluded at Vienna, July 4, 1891.

Conventions and agreements of the Postal Union signed at Washington, June 15, 1897.

Conventions and agreements of the Postal Union signed at Rome, May 26, 1906.

Telegraphic Conventions:

International Telegraphic Conventions signed at St. Petersburg July 10, (22,) 1875.

Regulations and tariffs drawn up by the International Telegraphic Conference, Lisbon, June 11, 1908.

Germany undertakes not to refuse her assent to the conclusion by the new States of the special arrangements referred to in the conventions and agreements relating to the Universal Postal Union and to the International Telegraphic Union, to which the said new States have adhered or may adhere.

ARTICLE 284.—From the coming into force of the present treaty the high contracting parties shall apply, in so far as concerns them, the International Radio-Telegraphic Convention of July 5, 1912, on condition that Germany fulfills the provisional regulations which will be indicated to her by the Allied and Associated Powers.

If within five years after the coming into force of the present treaty a new convention regulating international radio-telegraphic communications should have been concluded to take the place of the convention of July 5, 1912, this new convention shall bind Germany even if Germany should refuse either to take part in drawing up the convention or to subscribe thereto.

This new convention will likewise replace the provisional regulations in force.

ARTICLE 285.—From the coming into force of the present treaty the high contracting parties shall apply in so far as concerns them and under the conditions stipulated in Article 272 the conventions hereinafter mentioned:

1. The conventions of May 6, 1882, and Feb. 1, 1889, regulating the fisheries in the North Sea outside territorial waters.

2. The conventions and protocols of Nov. 16, 1887, Feb. 14, 1893, and April 11, 1894, regarding the North Sea liquor traffic.

ARTICLE 286.—The International Convention of Paris of March 20, 1883, for the protection of industrial property, revised at Washington on June 2, 1911; the International Convention of Berne of Sept. 9, 1886, for the protection of literary and artistic works, revised at Berlin on Nov. 13, 1908, and completed by the additional protocol signed at Berne on March 20, 1914, will again come into effect as from the coming into force of the present treaty, in so far as they are not affected or modified by the exceptions and restrictions resulting therefrom.

ARTICLE 287.—From the coming into force of the present treaty the high contracting parties shall apply, in so far as concerns them, the Convention of the Hague of July 17, 1905, relating to civil procedure. This renewal, however, will not apply to France, Portugal, and Rumania.

ARTICLE 288.—The special rights and privileges granted to Germany by Article 3 of the convention of Dec. 2, 1899, relating to Samoa shall be considered to have terminated on Aug. 4, 1914.

ARTICLE 289.—Each of the Allied or Associated Powers, being guided by the general principles or special provisions of the present treaty, shall notify to Germany the bilateral treaties or conventions which such Allied or Associated Power wishes to revive with Germany.

The notification referred to in the present article shall be made either directly or through the intermediary of another power. Receipt thereof shall be acknowledged in writing by Germany. The date of the revival shall be that of the notification.

The Allied and Associated Powers undertake among themselves not to revive with Germany any conventions or treaties which are not in accordance with the terms of the present treaty.

The notification shall mention any provisions of the said conventions and treaties which, not being in accordance with the terms of the present treaty, shall not be considered as revived. In case of any difference of opinion, the League of Nations will be called on to decide.

A period of six months from the coming into force of the present treaty is allowed to the Allied and Associated Powers within which to make the notification.

Only those bilateral treaties and conventions which have been the subject of such a notification shall be revived between the Allied and Associated Powers and Germany; all the others are and shall remain abrogated.

The above regulations apply to all bilateral treaties or conventions existing between all the Allied and Associated Powers signatories to the present treaty and Germany, even if the said Allied and Associated Powers have not been in a state of war with Germany.

ARTICLE 290.—Germany recognizes that all the treaties, conventions, or agreements which she has concluded with Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, or Turkey since Aug. 1, 1914, until the coming into force of the present treaty are and remain abrogated by the present treaty.

ARTICLE 291.—Germany undertakes to secure to the Allied and Associated Powers, and to the officials and nationals of the said powers, the enjoyment of all the rights and advantages of any kind which she may have granted to Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, or Turkey, or to the officials and nationals of these States by treaties, conventions, or arrangements concluded before Aug. 1, 1914, so long as those treaties, conventions, or arrangements remain in force.

The Allied and Associated Powers reserve the right to accept or not the enjoyment of these rights and advantages.

ARTICLE 292.—Germany recognizes that all treaties, conventions, or arrangements which she concluded with Russia or with any State or Government of which the territory previously formed a part of Russia, or with Rumania before Aug. 1, 1914, or after that date until the coming into force of the present treaty, are and remain abrogated.

ARTICLE 293.—Should an Allied or Associated Power, Russia, or a State or Government of which the territory formerly constituted a part of Russia have been forced since Aug. 1, 1914, by reason of military occupation or by any other means or for any other cause, to grant or to allow to be granted by the act of any public authority, concessions, privileges, and favors of any kind to Germany or to a German national, such concessions, privileges, and favors are *ipso facto* annulled by the present treaty.

No claims or indemnities which may result from this annulment shall be charged against the Allied or Associated Powers or the powers, States, Governments, or public authorities which are released from their engagements by the present article.

ARTICLE 294.—From the coming into force of the present treaty Germany undertakes to give the Allied and Associated Powers and their nationals the benefit *ipso facto* of the rights and advantages of any kind which she has granted by treaties, conventions, or arrangements to non-belligerent States or their nationals since Aug. 1, 1914, until the coming into force of the present treaty so long as those treaties, conventions, or arrangements remain in force.

ARTICLE 295.—Those of the high contracting parties who have not yet signed, or who have signed but not yet ratified, the Opium Convention signed at The Hague on Jan. 23, 1912, agree to bring the said convention into force, and for this purpose to enact the necessary legislation without delay and in any case within a period of twelve months from the coming into force of the present treaty.

Furthermore, they agree that ratification of the present treaty should in the case of powers which have not yet ratified the Opium Convention be deemed in all respects equivalent to the ratification of that convention and to the signature of the special protocol which was opened at The Hague in accordance with the resolutions adopted by the Third Opium Conference in 1914 for bringing the said convention into force.

For this purpose the Government of the French Republic will communicate to the Government of the Netherlands a certified copy of the protocol of the deposit of ratifications of the present treaty, and will invite the Government of the Netherlands to accept and deposit the said certified copy as if it were a deposit of ratifications of the Opium Convention and a signature of the additional protocol of 1914.

SECTION III.—*Debts.*

ARTICLE 296.—There shall be settled through the intervention of clearing offices to be established by each of the high contracting parties within three months of the notification referred to in paragraph (e) hereafter the following classes of pecuniary obligations:

1. Debts payable before the war and due by a national of one of the contracting powers, residing within its territory, to a national of an opposing power, residing within its territory.

2. Debts which became payable during the war to nationals of one contracting power residing within its territory and arose out of transactions or contracts with the nationals of an opposing power, resident within its territory, of which the total or partial execution was suspended on account of the declaration of war.

3. Interest which has accrued due before

and during the war to a national of one of the contracting powers in respect of securities issued by an opposing power, provided that the payment of interest on such securities to the nationals of that power or to neutrals has not been suspended during the war.

4. Capital sums which have become payable before and during the war to nationals of one of the contracting powers in respect of securities issued by one of the opposing powers, provided that the payment of such capital sums to nationals of that power or to neutrals has not been suspended during the war.

The proceeds of liquidation of enemy property, rights, and interests mentioned in Section IV. and in the annex thereto will be accounted for through the clearing offices, in the currency and at the rate of exchange hereinafter provided in Paragraph (d), and disposed of by them under the conditions provided by the said section and annex.

The settlements provided for in this article shall be effected according to the following principles and in accordance with the annex to this section:

- (a) Each of the high contracting parties shall prohibit, as from the coming into force of the present treaty, both the payment and the acceptance of payment of such debts, and also all communications between the interested parties with regard to the settlement of the said debts otherwise than through the clearing offices.

- (b) Each of the high contracting parties shall be respectively responsible for the payment of such debts due by its nationals, except in the cases where before the war the debtor was in a state of bankruptcy or failure, or had given formal indication of insolvency or where the debt was due by a company whose business has been liquidated under emergency legislation during the war. Nevertheless, debts due by the inhabitants of territory invaded or occupied by the enemy before the armistice will not be guaranteed by the States of which those territories form part.

- (c) The sums due to the nationals of one of the high contracting parties by the nationals of an opposing State will be debited to the clearing office of the country of the debtor, and paid to the creditor by the clearing office of the country of the creditor.

- (d) Debts shall be paid or credited in the currency of such one of the Allied and Associated Powers, their colonies or protectorates, or the British Dominions or India, as may be concerned. If the debts are payable in some other currency they shall be paid or credited in the currency of the country concerned, whether an Allied or Associated Power, colony, protectorate, British Dominion, or India, at the pre-war rate of exchange.

For the purpose of this provision the pre-war rate of exchange shall be defined as the average cable transfer rate prevailing

in the Allied or Associated country concerned during the month immediately preceding the outbreak of war between the said country concerned and Germany.

If a contract provides for a fixed rate of exchange governing the conversion of the currency in which the debt is stated into the currency of the Allied or Associated country concerned, then the above provisions concerning the rate of exchange shall not apply.

In the case of new States the currency in which and the rate of exchange at which debts shall be paid or credited shall be determined by the Reparation Commission provided for in Part VIII., (Reparation.)

(e) The provisions of this article and of the annex hereto shall not apply as between Germany on the one hand and any one of the Allied and Associated Powers, their colonies or protectorates, or any one of the British Dominions or India on the other hand, unless within a period of one month from the deposit of the ratifications of the present treaty by the power in question, or of the ratification on behalf of such Dominion or of India, notice to that effect is given to Germany by the Government of such Allied or Associated Power or of such Dominion or of India as the case may be.

(f) The Allied and Associated Powers who have adopted this article and the annex hereto may agree between themselves to apply them to their respective nationals established in their territory so far as regards matters between their nationals and German nationals. In this case the payments made by application of this provision will be subject to arrangements between the allied and associated clearing offices concerned.

ANNEX

1. Each of the high contracting parties will, within three months from the notification provided for in Article 296, paragraph (e), establish a clearing office for the collection and payment of enemy debts.

Local clearing offices may be established for any particular portion of the territories of the high contracting parties. Such local clearing offices may perform all the functions of a central clearing office in their respective districts, except that all transactions with the clearing office in the opposing State must be effected through the central clearing office.

2. In this annex the pecuniary obligations referred to in the first paragraph of Article 296 are described as "enemy debts", the persons from whom the same are due as "enemy debtors", the persons to whom they are due as "enemy creditors", the clearing office in the country of the creditor is called the "Creditor Clearing Office," and the clearing office in the country of the debtor is called the "Debtor Clearing Office".

3. The high contracting parties will subject contraventions of Paragraph (a) of Article 296 to the same penalties as are at present provided by their legislation for trading with

the enemy. They will similarly prohibit within their territory all legal process relating to payment of enemy debts, except in accordance with the provisions of this annex.

4. The Government guarantee specified in Paragraph (b) of Article 296 shall take effect whenever, for any reason, a debt shall not be recoverable, except in a case where at the date of the outbreak of war the debt was barred by the laws of prescription in force in the country of the debtor, or where the debtor was at that time in a state of bankruptcy or failure or had given formal indication of insolvency, or where the debt was due by a company whose business has been liquidated under emergency legislation during the war. In such case the procedure specified by this annex shall apply to payment of the dividends.

The terms "bankruptcy" and "failure" refer to the application of legislation providing for such juridical conditions. The expression "formal indication of insolvency" bears the same meaning as it has in English law.

5. Creditors shall give notice to the Creditor Clearing Office within six months of its establishment of debts due to them, and shall furnish the Clearing Office with any documents and information required of them.

The high contracting parties will take all suitable measures to trace and punish collusion between enemy creditors and debtors. The clearing offices will communicate to one another any evidence and information which might help the discovery and punishment of such collusion.

The high contracting parties will facilitate as much as possible postal and telegraphic communication at the expense of the parties concerned and through the intervention of the clearing offices between debtors and creditors desirous of coming to an agreement as to the amount of their debt.

The Creditor Clearing Office will notify the Debtor Clearing Office of all debts declared to it. The Debtor Clearing Office will, in due course, inform the Creditor Clearing Office which debts are admitted and which debts are contested. In the latter case the Debtor Clearing Office will give the grounds for the nonadmission of debt.

6. When a debt has been admitted, in whole or in part, the Debtor Clearing Office will at once credit the Creditor Clearing Office with the amount admitted, and at the same time notify it of such credit.

7. The debt shall be deemed to be admitted in full and shall be credited forthwith to the Creditor Clearing Office unless within three months from the receipt of the notification or such longer time as may be agreed to by the Creditor Clearing Office notice has been given by the Debtor Clearing Office that it is not admitted.

8. When the whole or part of a debt is not admitted the two clearing offices will examine into the matter jointly, and will endeavor to bring the parties to an agreement.

9. The Creditor Clearing Office will pay to the individual creditor the sums credited to it out of the funds placed at its disposal by the Government of its country and in accordance with the conditions fixed by the said Government, retaining any sums considered necessary to cover risks, expenses, or commissions.

10. Any person having claimed payment of an enemy debt which is not admitted in whole or in part shall pay to the clearing office by way of fine interest at 5 per cent. on the part not admitted. Any person having unduly refused to admit the whole or part of a debt claimed from him shall pay by way of fine interest at 5 per cent. on the amount with regard to which his refusal shall be disallowed.

Such interest shall run from the date of expiration of the period provided for in Paragraph 7 until the date on which the claim shall have been disallowed or the debt paid.

Each clearing office shall in so far as it is concerned take steps to collect the fines above provided for, and will be responsible if such fines cannot be collected.

The fines will be credited to the other clearing office, which shall retain them as a contribution toward the cost of carrying out the present provisions.

11. The balance between the clearing offices shall be struck monthly, and the credit balance paid in cash by the debtor State within a week.

Nevertheless, any credit balances which may be due by one or more of the Allied and Associated Powers shall be retained until complete payment shall have been effected of the sums due to the Allied or Associated Powers or their nationals on account of the war.

12. To facilitate discussion between the clearing offices each of them shall have a representative at the place where the other is established.

13. Except for special reasons all discussions in regard to claims will, so far as possible, take place at the Debtor Clearing Office.

14. In conformity with Article 296, Paragraph (b), the high contracting parties are responsible for the payment of the enemy debts owing by their nationals.

The Debtor Clearing Office will therefore credit the Creditor Clearing Office with all debts admitted, even in case of inability to collect them from the individual debtor. The Governments concerned will, nevertheless, invest their respective clearing offices with all necessary powers for the recovery of debts which have been admitted.

As an exception the admitted debts owing by persons having suffered injury from acts of war shall only be credited to the Creditor Clearing Office when the compensation due to the person concerned in respect of such injury shall have been paid.

15. Each Government will defray the expenses of the clearing office set up in its territory, including the salaries of the staff.

16. Where the two clearing offices are unable to agree whether a debt claimed is due, or in case of a difference between an enemy debtor and an enemy creditor, or between the clearing offices, the dispute shall either be referred to arbitration if the parties so agree under conditions fixed by agreement between them, or referred to the mixed arbitral tribunal provided for in Section VI. hereafter.

At the request of the Creditor Clearing Office the dispute may, however, be submitted to the jurisdiction of the courts of the place of domicile of the debtor.

17. Recovery of sums found by the mixed arbitral tribunal, the court, or the arbitration tribunal to be due shall be effected through the clearing offices as if these sums were debts admitted by the Debtor Clearing Office.

18. Each of the Governments concerned shall appoint an agent who will be responsible for the presentation to the mixed arbitral tribunal of the cases conducted on behalf of its clearing office. This agent will exercise a general control over the representatives or counsel employed by its nationals.

Decisions will be arrived at on documentary evidence, but it will be open to the tribunal to hear the parties in person, or, according to their preference, by their representatives approved by the two Governments, or by the agent referred to above, who shall be competent to intervene along with the party or to reopen and maintain a claim abandoned by the same.

19. The clearing offices concerned will lay before the mixed arbitral tribunal all the information and documents in their possession, so as to enable the tribunal to decide rapidly on the cases which are brought before it.

20. Where one of the parties concerned appeals against the joint decision of the two clearing offices he shall make a deposit against the costs, which deposit shall only be refunded when the first judgment is modified in favor of the appellant and in proportion to the success he may attain, his opponent in case of such a refund being required to pay an equivalent proportion of the costs and expenses. Security accepted by the tribunal may be substituted for a deposit.

A fee of 5 per cent. of the amount in dispute shall be charged in respect of all cases brought before the tribunal. This fee shall, unless the tribunal directs otherwise, be borne by the unsuccessful party. Such fee shall be added to the deposit referred to. It is also independent of the security.

The tribunal may award to one of the parties a sum in respect of the expenses of the proceedings.

Any sum payable under this paragraph shall be credited to the clearing office of the successful party as a separate item.

21. With a view to the rapid settlement of claims, due regard shall be paid in the appointment of all persons connected with the clearing offices or with the Mixed Arbitral

Tribunal to their knowledge of the language of the other country concerned. Each of the clearing offices will be at liberty to correspond with the other, and to forward documents in its own language.

22. Subject to any special agreement to the contrary between the Governments concerned, debts shall carry interest in accordance with the following provisions:

Interest shall not be payable on sums of money due by way of dividend, interest, or other periodical payments which themselves represent interest on capital.

The rate of interest shall be 5 per cent. per annum except in cases where, by contract, law, or custom, the creditor is entitled to payment of interest at a different rate. In such cases the rate to which he is entitled shall prevail.

Interest shall run from the date of commencement of hostilities (or, if the sum of money to be recovered fell due during the war, from the date at which it fell due) until the sum is credited to the clearing office of the creditor.

Sums due by way of interest shall be treated as debts admitted by the clearing offices and shall be credited to the Creditor Clearing Office in the same way as such debts.

23. Where by decision of the clearing offices or the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal a claim is held not to fall within Article 206, the creditor shall be at liberty to prosecute the claim before the courts or to take such other proceedings as may be open to him.

The presentation of a claim to the clearing office suspends the operation of any period of prescription.

24. The high contracting parties agree to regard the decisions of the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal as final and conclusive, and to render them binding upon their nationals.

25. In any case where a Creditor Clearing Office declines to notify a claim to the Debtor Clearing Office, or to take any step provided for in this annex, intended to make effective in whole or in part a request of which it has received due notice, the enemy creditor shall be entitled to receive from the clearing office a certificate setting out the amount of the claim, and shall then be entitled to prosecute the claim before the courts or to take such other proceedings as may be open to him.

SECTION IV.—*Property, Rights, and Interests*

ARTICLE 297.—The question of private property, rights, and interests in an enemy country, shall be settled according to the principles laid down in this section and to the provisions of the annex hereto:

(a) The exceptional war measures and measures of transfer (defined in paragraph 3 of the annex hereto) taken by Germany with respect to the property, rights, and interests of nationals of Allied or Associated

Powers, including companies and associations in which they are interested, when liquidation has not been completed, shall be immediately discontinued or stayed and the property, rights, and interests concerned restored to their owners, who shall enjoy full rights therein in accordance with the provisions of Article 298.

(b) Subject to any contrary stipulations which may be provided for in the present treaty, the Allied and Associated Powers reserve the right to retain and liquidate all property, rights, and interests belonging at the date of the coming into force of the present treaty to German nationals, or companies controlled by them, within their territories, colonies, possessions, and protectorates including territories ceded to them by the present treaty.

The liquidation shall be carried out in accordance with the laws of the Allied or Associated State concerned, and the German owner shall not be able to dispose of such property, rights, or interests nor to subject them to any charge without the consent of that State.

German nationals who acquire ipso facto the nationality of an Allied or Associated Power in accordance with the provisions of the present treaty will not be considered as German nationals within the meaning of this paragraph.

(c) The price or the amount of compensation in respect of the exercise of the right referred to in the preceding paragraph (b) will be fixed in accordance with the methods of sale or valuation adopted by the laws of the country in which the property has been retained or liquidated.

(d) As between the Allied and Associated Powers or their nationals on the one hand and Germany or her nationals on the other hand, all the exceptional war measures, or measures of transfer, or acts done or to be done in execution of such measures as defined in Paragraphs 1 and 3 of the annex hereto shall be considered as final and binding upon all persons except as regards the reservations laid down in the present treaty.

(e) The nationals of Allied and Associated Powers shall be entitled to compensation in respect of damage or injury inflicted upon their property, rights, or interests, including any company or association in which they are interested, in German territory as it existed on Aug. 1, 1914, by the application either of the exceptional war measures or measures of transfer mentioned in Paragraphs 1 and 3 of the annex hereto. The claims made in this respect by such nationals shall be investigated, and the total of the compensation shall be determined by the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal provided for in Section VI. or by an arbitrator appointed by that tribunal. This compensation shall be borne by Germany, and may be charged upon the property of German nationals, within the territory or under the control of the claimant's State. This property may be con-

stituted as a pledge for enemy liabilities under the conditions fixed by Paragraph 4 of the annex hereto. The payment of this compensation may be made by the Allied or Associated State, and the amount will be debited to Germany.

(f) Whenever a national of an Allied or Associated Power is entitled to property which has been subjected to a measure of transfer in German territory and expresses a desire for its restitution, his claim for compensation in accordance with Paragraph (e) shall be satisfied by the restitution of the said property if it still exists in specie.

In such case Germany shall take all necessary steps to restore the evicted owner to the possession of his property, free from all incumbrances or burdens with which it may have been charged after the liquidation, and to indemnify all third parties injured by the restitution.

If the restitution provided for in this paragraph cannot be effected, private agreements arranged by the intermediation of the powers concerned or the clearing offices provided for in the Annex to Section III. may be made, in order to secure that the national of the Allied or Associated Power may secure compensation for the injury referred to in Paragraph (e) by the grant of advantages or equivalents which he agrees to accept in place of the property, rights or interests of which he was deprived.

Through restitution in accordance with this article, the price or the amount of compensation fixed by the application of Paragraph (e) will be reduced by the actual value of the property restored, account being taken of compensation in respect of loss of use or deterioration.

(g) The rights conferred by Paragraph (f) are reserved to owners who are nationals of Allied or Associated Powers within whose territory legislative measures prescribing the general liquidation of enemy property, rights or interests were not applied before the signature of the armistice.

(h) Except in cases where, by application of Paragraph (f), restitutions in specie have been made, the net proceeds of sales of enemy property, rights or interests wherever situated carried out either by virtue of war legislation, or by application of this article, and in general all cash assets of enemies, shall be dealt with as follows:

(1) As regards powers adopting Section III. and the annex thereto, the said proceeds and cash assets shall be credited to the power of which the owner is a national, through the clearing office established thereunder; any credit balance in favor of Germany resulting therefrom shall be dealt with as provided in Article 243.

(2) As regards powers not adopting Section III. and the annex thereto, the proceeds of the property, rights and interests, and the cash assets, of the nationals of Allied or Associated Powers held by Germany shall be paid immediately to the person entitled

thereto or to his Government; the proceeds of the property, rights and interests, and the cash assets, of German nationals received by an Allied or Associated Power shall be subject to disposal by such power in accordance with its laws and regulations and may be applied in payment of the claims and debts defined by this article or Paragraph 4 of the annex hereto. Any property, rights and interests or proceeds thereof or cash assets not used as above provided may be retained by the said Allied or Associated Power and if retained the cash value thereof shall be dealt with as provided in Article 243.

In the case of liquidations effected in new States, which are signatories of the present treaty as Allied and Associated Powers, or in States which are not entitled to share in the reparation payments to be made by Germany, the proceeds of liquidations effected by such States shall, subject to the rights of the Reparation Commission under the present treaty, particularly under Articles 235 and 260, be paid direct to the owner. If on the application of that owner, the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal, provided for by Section VI. of this part or an arbitrator appointed by that tribunal, is satisfied that the conditions of the sale or measures taken by the Government of the State in question outside its general legislation were unfairly prejudicial to the price obtained, they shall have discretion to award to the owner equitable compensation to be paid by that State.

(i) Germany undertakes to compensate its nationals in respect of the sale or retention of their property, rights or interests in Allied or Associated States.

(j) The amount of all taxes and imposts upon capital levied or to be levied by Germany on the property, rights, and interests of the nationals of the Allied or Associated Powers from the 11th of November, 1918, until three months from the coming into force of the present treaty, or, in the case of property, rights or interests which have been subjected to exceptional measures of war, until restitution in accordance with the present treaty, shall be restored to the owners.

ARTICLE 298.—Germany undertakes, with regard to the property, rights and interests, including companies and associations in which they were interested, restored to nationals of Allied and Associated Powers in accordance with the provisions of Article 297, Paragraph (a) or (f):

(a) to restore and maintain, except as expressly provided in the present treaty, the property, rights, and interests of the nationals of Allied or Associated Powers in the legal position obtaining in respect of the property, rights, and interests of German nationals under the laws in force before the war.

(b) not to subject the property, rights, or interests of the nationals of the Allied or Associated Powers to any measures in derogation of property rights which are not applied equally to the property, rights, and interests

of German nationals, and to pay adequate compensation in the event of the application of these measures.

ANNEX

1. In accordance with the provisions of Article 297, Paragraph (d), the validity of vesting orders and of orders for the winding up of businesses or companies, and of any other orders, directions, decisions, or instructions of any court or any department of the Government of any of the high contracting parties made or given, or purporting to be made or given, in pursuance of war legislation with regard to enemy property, rights, and interests is confirmed. The interests of all persons shall be regarded as having been effectively dealt with by any order, direction, decision, or instruction dealing with property in which they may be interested, whether or not such interests are specifically mentioned in the order, direction, decision, or instruction. No question shall be raised as to the regularity of a transfer of any property, rights, or interests dealt with in pursuance of any such order, direction, decision, or instruction. Every action taken with regard to any property, business, or company, whether as regards its investigation, sequestration, compulsory administration, use, requisition, supervision, or winding up, the sale or management of property, rights, or interests, the collection or discharge of debts, the payment of costs, charges or expenses, or any other matter whatsoever, in pursuance of orders, directions, decisions, or instructions of any court or of any department of the Government of any of the high contracting parties, made or given, or purporting to be made or given, in pursuance of war legislation with regard to enemy property, rights, or interests, is confirmed. Provided that the provisions of this paragraph shall not be held to prejudice the titles to property heretofore acquired in good faith and for value and in accordance with the laws of the country in which the property is situated by nationals of the Allied and Associated Powers.

The provisions of this paragraph do not apply to such of the above-mentioned measures as have been taken by the German authorities in invaded or occupied territory, nor to such of the above mentioned measures as have been taken by Germany or the German authorities since Nov. 11, 1918, all of which shall be void.

2. No claim or action shall be made or brought against any Allied or Associated Power or against any person acting on behalf of or under the direction of any legal authority or department of the Government of such a power by Germany or by any German national wherever resident in respect of any act or omission with regard to his property, rights, or interests during the war or in preparation for the war. Similarly no claim or action shall be made or brought against any person in respect of any act or

omission under or in accordance with the exceptional war measures, laws, or regulations of any Allied or Associated Power.

3. In Article 297 and this Annex the expression "exceptional war measures" includes measures of all kinds, legislative, administrative, judicial, or others, that have been taken or will be taken hereafter with regard to enemy property, and which have had or will have the effect of removing from the proprietors the power of disposition over their property, though without affecting the ownership, such as measures of supervision, of compulsory administration, and of sequestration; or measures which have had or will have as an object the seizure of, the use of, or the interference with enemy assets, for whatsoever motive, under whatsoever form or in whatsoever place. Acts in the execution of these measures include all detentions, instructions, orders or decrees of Government departments or courts applying these measures to enemy property, as well as acts performed by any person connected with the administration or the supervision of enemy property, such as the payment of debts, the collecting of credits, the payment of any costs, charges, or expenses, or the collecting of fees.

Measures of transfer are those which have affected or will affect the ownership of enemy property by transferring it in whole or in part to a person other than the enemy owner, and without his consent, such as measures directing the sale, liquidation, or devolution of ownership in enemy property, or the canceling of titles or securities.

4. All property, rights, and interests of German nationals within the territory of any Allied or Associated Power and the net proceeds of their sale, liquidation or other dealing therewith may be charged by that Allied or Associated Power in the first place with payment of amounts due in respect of claims by the nationals of that Allied or Associated Power with regard to their property, rights, and interests, including companies and associations in which they are interested in German territory, or debts owing to them by German nationals, and with payment of claims growing out of acts committed by the German Government or by any German authorities since July 31, 1914, and before that Allied or Associated Power entered into the war. The amount of such claims may be assessed by an arbitrator appointed by Gustave Ador, if he is willing, or if no such appointment is made by him by an arbitrator appointed by the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal provided for in Section VI. They may be charged in the second place with payment of the amounts due in respect of claims by the nationals of such Allied or Associated Power with regard to their property, rights, and interests in the territory of other enemy powers, or debts owing to them by nationals of such powers in so far as those claims or debts are otherwise unsatisfied.

5. Notwithstanding the provisions of Article 297, where immediately before the outbreak of war a company incorporated in an Allied or Associated State had rights in common with a company controlled by it and incorporated in Germany to the use of trade-marks in third countries, or enjoyed the use in common with such company of unique means of reproduction of goods or articles for sale in third countries, the former company shall alone have the right to use these trade-marks in third countries to the exclusion of the German company, and these unique means of reproduction shall be handed over to the former company, notwithstanding any action taken under German war legislation with regard to the latter company or its business, industrial property or shares. Nevertheless, the former company, if requested, shall deliver to the latter company

derivative copies permitting the continuation of reproduction of articles for use within German territory.

6. Up to the time when restitution is carried out in accordance with Article 297, Germany is responsible for the conservation of property, rights, and interests of the nationals of Allied or Associated Powers, including companies and associations in which they are interested, that have been subjected by her to exceptional war measures.

7. Within one year from the coming into force of the present treaty the Allied or Associated Powers will specify the property, rights and interests over which they intend to exercise the right provided in Article 297, Paragraph (f).

8. The restitution provided in Article 297 will be carried out by order of the German Government or of the authorities which have been substituted for it. Detailed accounts of the action of administrators shall be furnished to the interested persons by the German authorities upon request, which may be made at any time after the coming into force of the present treaty.

9. Until completion of the liquidation provided for by Article 297, Paragraph (b), the property, rights and interests of German nationals will continue to be subject to exceptional war measures that have been or will be taken with regard to them.

10. Germany will, within six months from the coming into force of the present treaty, deliver to each Allied or Associated Power all securities, certificates, deeds, or other documents of title held by its nationals and relating to property, rights or interests situated in the territory of that Allied or Associated Power, including any shares, stock, debentures, debenture stock, or other obligations of any company incorporated in accordance with the laws of that power.

Germany will at any time on demand of any Allied or Associated Power furnish such information as may be required with regard to the property, rights, and interests of German nationals within the territory of such Allied or Associated Power, or with regard to any transactions concerning such property, rights or interests effected since July 1, 1914.

11. The expression "cash assets" includes all deposits or funds established before or after the declaration of war, as well as all assets coming from deposits, revenues, or profits collected by administrators, sequestrators, or others from funds placed on deposit or otherwise, but does not include sums belonging to the Allied or Associated Powers or to their component States, provinces, or municipalities.

12. All investments wheresoever effected with the cash assets of nationals of the high contracting parties, including companies and associations in which such nationals were interested, by persons responsible for the administration of enemy properties or having control over such administration, or by order of such persons or of any authority whatsoever shall be annulled. These cash assets shall be accounted for irrespective of any such investment.

13. Within one month from the coming into force of the present treaty, or on demand at any time, Germany will deliver to the Allied and Associated Powers all accounts, vouchers, records, documents, and information of any kind which may be within German territory, and which concern the property, rights and interests of the nationals of those powers, including companies and associations in which they are interested, that have been subjected to an exceptional war measure, or to a measure of transfer either in German territory or in territory occupied by Germany or her allies.

The controllers, supervisors, managers, administrators, sequestrators, liquidators, and receivers shall be personally responsible under guarantee of the German Government for the immediate delivery in full of these

accounts and documents, and for their accuracy.

14. The provisions of Article 297 and this annex relating to property, rights and interests in an enemy country, and the proceeds of the liquidation thereof, apply to debts, credits and accounts, Section III. regulating only the method of payment.

In the settlement of matters provided for in Article 297 between Germany and the Allied or Associated States, their colonies or protectorates, or any one of the British Dominions or India, in respect of any of which a declaration shall not have been made that they adopt Section III., and between their respective nationals, the provisions of Section III. respecting the currency in which payment is to be made and the rate of exchange and of interest shall apply unless the Government of the Allied or Associated Power concerned shall within six months of the coming into force of the present treaty notify Germany that the said provisions are not to be applied.

15. The provisions of Article 297 and this annex apply to industrial, literary, and artistic property which has been or will be dealt with in the liquidation of property, rights, interests, companies, or businesses under war legislation by the Allied or Associated Powers, or in accordance with the stipulations of Article 297, Paragraph (b.)

SECTION V.—*Contracts, Prescriptions, Judgments*

ARTICLE 299.—(a) Any contract concluded between enemies shall be regarded as having been dissolved as from the time when any two of the parties become enemies, except in respect of any debt or other pecuniary obligation arising out of any act done or money paid thereunder, and subject to the exceptions and special rules with regard to particular contracts or classes of contracts contained herein or in the annex hereto.

(b) Any contract of which the execution shall be required in the general interest, within six months from the date of the coming into force of the present treaty, by the Allied or Associated Governments of which one of the parties is a national, shall be excepted from dissolution under this article.

When the execution of the contract thus kept alive would, owing to the alteration of trade conditions, cause one of the parties substantial prejudice the mixed arbitral tribunal provided for by Section VI. shall be empowered to grant to the prejudiced party equitable compensation.

(c) Having regard to the provisions of the Constitution and law of the United States of America, of Brazil, and of Japan, neither the present Article, nor Article 300, nor the Annex hereto shall apply to contracts made between nationals of these States and German nationals; nor shall Article 305 apply to the United States of America or its nationals.

(d) The present Article and the Annex hereto shall not apply to contracts the parties to which became enemies by reason of one of them being an inhabitant of territory of which the sovereignty has been transferred, if such party shall acquire under the present Treaty the nationality of an allied or associated power, nor shall they apply to contracts between nationals of the Allied and Associated Powers between whom trading has been prohibited by reason of one of the parties being in allied or associated territory in the occupation of the enemy.

(e) Nothing in the present Article or the Annex hereto shall be deemed to invalidate a transaction lawfully carried out in accordance with a contract between enemies if it has been carried out with the authority of one of the belligerent Powers.

ARTICLE 300.—(a) All periods of prescrip-

tion, or limitation of right of action, whether they began to run before or after the outbreak of war, shall be treated in the territory of the High Contracting Parties, so far as regards relations between enemies, as having been suspended for the duration of the war. They shall begin to run again at earliest three months after the coming into force of the present Treaty. This provision shall apply to the period prescribed for the presentation of interest or dividend coupons or for the presentation for repayment of securities drawn for repayment or repayable on any other ground.

(b) Where, on account of failure to perform any act or comply with any formality during the war, measures of execution have been taken in German territory to the prejudice of a national of an Allied or Associated Power, the claim of such national shall, if the matter does not fall within the competence of the courts of an Allied or Associated Power, be heard by the mixed arbitral tribunal provided for by Section VI.

(c) Upon the application of any interested person who is a national of an Allied or Associated Power, the mixed arbitral tribunal shall order the restoration of the rights which have been prejudiced by the measures of execution referred to in paragraph (b), wherever, having regard to the particular circumstances of the case, such restoration is equitable and possible.

If such restoration is inequitable or impossible the mixed arbitral tribunal may grant compensation to the prejudiced party to be paid by the German Government.

(d) Where a contract between enemies has been dissolved by reason either of failure on the part of either party to carry out its provisions or of the exercise of a right stipulated in the contract itself the party prejudiced may apply to the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal for relief. The tribunal will have the powers provided for in paragraph (c).

(e) The provisions of the preceding paragraphs of this article shall apply to the nationals of Allied and Associated Powers who have been prejudiced by reason of measures referred to above taken by Germany in invaded or occupied territory, if they have not been otherwise compensated.

(f) Germany shall compensate any third party who may be prejudiced by any restitution or restoration ordered by the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal under the provisions of the preceding paragraphs of this Article.

(g) As regards negotiable instruments, the period of three months provided under paragraph (a) shall commence as from the date on which any exceptional regulations applied in the territories of the interested power with regard to negotiable instruments shall have definitely ceased to have force.

ARTICLE 301.—As between enemies no negotiable instrument made before the war shall be deemed to have become invalid by reason only of failure within the required time to present the instrument for acceptance or payment or to give notice of non-acceptance or non-payment to drawers or indorsers or to protest the instrument, nor by reason of failure to complete any formality during the war.

Where the period within which a negotiable instrument should have been presented for acceptance or for payment, or within which notice of non-acceptance or non-payment should have been given to the drawer or indorser, or within which the instrument should have been protested, has elapsed during the war, and the party who should have presented or protested the instrument or have given notice of non-acceptance or non-payment has failed to do so during the war, a period of not less than three months from the coming into force of the present treaty shall be allowed within which presentation,

notice of non-acceptance or non-payment or protest may be made.

ARTICLE 302.—Judgments given by the courts of an Allied or Associated Power in all cases which, under the present treaty, they are competent to decide, shall be recognized in Germany as final, and shall be enforced without it being necessary to have them declared executory.

If a judgment in respect of any dispute which may have arisen has been given during the war by a German court against a national of an Allied or Associated State in a case in which he was not able to make his defense, the allied and associated national who has suffered prejudice thereby shall be entitled to recover compensation, to be fixed by the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal provided for in Section VI.

At the instance of the national of the Allied or Associated Power the compensation above mentioned may, upon order to that effect of the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal, be effected where it is possible by replacing the parties in the situation which they occupied before the judgment was given by the German court.

The above compensation may likewise be obtained before the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal by the nationals of Allied or Associated Powers who have suffered prejudice by judicial measures taken in invaded or occupied territories, if they have not been otherwise compensated.

ARTICLE 303.—For the purpose of Sections III., IV., V., and VII., the expression "during the war" means for each Allied or Associated Power the period between the commencement of the state of war between that power and Germany and the coming into force of the present treaty.

ANNEX

I. General Provisions

1. Within the meaning of Articles 299, 300 and 301, the parties to a contract shall be regarded as enemies when trading between them shall have been prohibited by or otherwise became unlawful under laws, orders or regulations to which one of those parties was subject. They shall be deemed to have become enemies from the date when such trading was prohibited or otherwise became unlawful.

2. The following classes of contracts are excepted from dissolution by Article 299 and, without prejudice to the rights contained in article 297 (b) of Section IV., remain in force subject to the application of domestic laws, orders or regulations made during the war by the Allied and Associated Powers and subject to the terms of the contracts:

(a) Contracts having for their object the transfer of estates or of real or personal property where the property therein had passed or the object had been delivered before the parties became enemies;

(b) Leases and agreements for leases of land and houses;

(c) Contracts of mortgage, pledge, or lien;

(d) Concessions concerning mines, quarries or deposits;

(e) Contracts between individuals or companies and States, provinces, municipalities, or other similar juridical persons charged with administrative functions, and concessions granted by States, provinces, municipalities, or other similar juridical persons charged with administrative functions.

3. If the provisions of a contract are in part dissolved under Article 299, the remaining provisions of that contract shall, subject to the same application of domestic laws as is provided for in Paragraph 2, continue in force if they are severable, but where they are not severable the contract shall be deemed to have been dissolved in its entirety.

II. Provisions Relating to Certain Classes of Contracts

Stock Exchange and Commercial Exchange Contracts

4. (a) Rules made during the war by any recognized exchange or commercial association providing for the closure of contracts entered into before the war by an enemy are confirmed by the high contracting parties, as also any action taken thereunder, provided:—

(i.) That the contract was expressed to be made subject to the rules of the exchange or association in question;

(ii.) That the rules applied to all persons concerned;

(iii.) That the conditions attaching to the closure were fair and reasonable.

(b) The preceding paragraph shall not apply to rules made during the occupation by exchange or commercial associations in the districts occupied by the enemy.

(c) The closure of contracts relating to cotton "futures", which were closed as on the 31st July, 1914, under the decision of the Liverpool Cotton Association, is also confirmed.

Security

(5) The sale of a security held for an unpaid debt owing by an enemy shall be deemed to have been valid irrespective of notice to the owner if the creditor acted in good faith and with reasonable care and prudence, and no claim by the debtor on the ground of such sale shall be admitted.

This stipulation shall not apply to any sale of securities effected by an enemy during the occupation in regions invaded or occupied by the enemy.

Negotiable Instruments

6. As regards powers which adopt Section III. and the Annex thereto the pecuniary obligations existing between enemies and resulting from the issue of negotiable instruments shall be adjusted in conformity with the said Annex by the instrumentality of the Clearing Offices, which shall assume the rights of the holder as regards the various remedies open to him.

7. If a person has either before or during the war become liable upon a negotiable instrument in accordance with an undertaking given to him by a person who has subsequently become an enemy, the latter shall remain liable to indemnify the former in respect of his liability, notwithstanding the outbreak of war.

III. Contracts of Insurance

8. Contracts of insurance entered into by any person with another person who subsequently became an enemy will be dealt with in accordance with the following paragraphs:

Fire Insurance

9. Contracts for the insurance of property against fire entered into by a person interested in such property with another person who subsequently became an enemy shall not be deemed to have been dissolved by the outbreak of war, or by the fact of the person becoming an enemy, or on account of the failure during the war and for a period of three months thereafter to perform his obligations under the contract, but they shall be dissolved at the date when the annual premium becomes payable for the first time after the expiration of a period of three months after the coming into force of the present treaty.

A settlement shall be effected of unpaid premiums which became due during the war, or of claims for losses which occurred during the war.

10. Where by administrative or legislative action an insurance against fire effected

before the war has been transferred during the war from the original to another insurer, the transfer will be recognized and the liability of the original insurer will be deemed to have ceased as from the date of the transfer. The original insurer will, however, be entitled to receive on demand full information as to the terms of the transfer, and if it should appear that these terms were not equitable they shall be amended so far as may be necessary to render them equitable.

Furthermore, the insured shall, subject to the concurrence of the original insurer, be entitled to retransfer the contract to the original insurer as from the date of the demand.

Life Insurance

11. Contracts of life insurance entered into between an insurer and a person who subsequently became an enemy shall not be deemed to have been dissolved by the outbreak of war, or by the fact of the person becoming an enemy.

Any sum which during the war became due upon a contract deemed not to have been dissolved under the preceding provision shall be recoverable after the war with the addition of interest at five per cent per annum from the date of its becoming due up to the day of payment.

Where the contract has lapsed during the war owing to non-payment of premiums, or has become void from breach of the conditions of the contract, the assured or his representatives or the persons entitled shall have the right at any time within twelve months of the coming into force of the present treaty to claim from the insurer the surrender value of the policy at the date of its lapse or avoidance.

Where the contract has lapsed during the war owing to non-payment of premiums the payment of which has been prevented by the enforcement of measures of war, the assured or his representative or the persons entitled shall have the right to restore the contract on payment of the premiums with interest at five per cent per annum within three months from the coming into effect of the present treaty.

12. Any Allied or Associated Power may within three months of the coming into force of the present treaty cancel all the contracts of insurance running between a German insurance company and its nationals under conditions which shall protect its nationals from any prejudice.

To this end the German insurance company will hand over to the allied or associated Government concerned, the proportion of its assets attributable to the policies so canceled and will be relieved from all liability in respect of such policies. The assets to be handed over shall be determined by an actuary appointed by the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal.

13. Where contracts of life insurance have been entered into by a local branch of an insurance company established in a country which subsequently became an enemy country, the contract shall, in the absence of any stipulation to the contrary in the contract itself, be governed by the local law, but the insurer shall be entitled to demand from the insured or his representatives the refund of sums paid on claims made or enforced under measures taken during the war, if the making or enforcement of such claims was not in accordance with the terms of the contract itself or was not consistent with the laws or treaties existing at the time when it was entered into.

14. In any case where by the law applicable to the contract the insurer remains bound by the contract notwithstanding the non-payment of premiums until notice is given to the insured of the termination of the contract, he shall be entitled where the giving of such notice was prevented by the

war to recover the unpaid premiums with interest at five per cent. per annum from the insured.

15. Insurance contracts shall be considered as contracts of life assurance for the purpose of Paragraphs 11 to 14 when they depend on the probabilities of human life combined with the rate of interest for the calculation of the reciprocal engagements between the two parties.

Marine Insurance

16. Contracts of marine insurance including time policies and voyage policies entered into between an insurer and a person who subsequently became an enemy, shall be deemed to have been dissolved on his becoming an enemy, except in cases where the risk undertaken in the contract had attached before he became an enemy.

Where the risk had not attached, money paid by way of premium or otherwise shall be recoverable from the insurer.

Where the risk had attached effect shall be given to the contract notwithstanding the party becoming an enemy, and sums due under the contract either by way of premiums or in respect of losses shall be recoverable after the coming into force of the present treaty.

In the event of any agreement being come to for the payment of interest on sums due before the war to or by the nationals of States which have been at war and recovered after the war, such interest shall in the case of losses recoverable under contracts of marine insurance run from the expiration of a period of one year from the date of the loss.

17. No contract of marine insurance with an insured person who subsequently became an enemy shall be deemed to cover losses due to belligerent action by the power of which the insurer was a national or by the allies or associates of such power.

18. Where it is shown that a person who had before the war entered into a contract of marine insurance with an insurer who subsequently became an enemy entered after the outbreak of war into a new contract covering the same risk with an insurer who was not an enemy, the new contract shall be deemed to be substituted for the original contract as from the date when it was entered into, and the premiums payable shall be adjusted on the basis of the original insurer having remained liable on the contract only up till the time when the new contract was entered into.

Other Insurances

19. Contracts of insurance entered into before the war between an insurer and a person who subsequently became an enemy other than contracts dealt with in Paragraphs 9 to 18 shall be treated in all respects on the same footing as contracts of fire insurance between the same persons would be dealt with under the said paragraphs.

Re-insurance

20. All treaties of re-insurance with a person who became an enemy shall be regarded as having been abrogated by the person becoming an enemy, but without prejudice in the case of life or marine risks which had attached before the war to the right to recover payment after the war for sums due in respect of such risks.

Nevertheless, if, owing to invasion, it has been impossible for the re-insured to find another re-insurer, the treaty shall remain in force until three months after the coming into force of the present treaty.

Where a re-insurance treaty becomes void under this paragraph, there shall be an adjustment of accounts between the parties in respect both of premiums paid and payable and of liabilities for losses in respect of life or marine risk which had attached before the war. In the case of risks other than those mentioned in Paragraphs 11 to 18 the adjustment of accounts shall be made as at

the date of the parties becoming enemies without regard to claims for losses which may have occurred since that date.

21. The provisions of the preceding paragraph will extend equally to re-insurances existing at the date of the parties becoming enemies of particular risks undertaken by the insurer in a contract of insurance against any risks other than life or marine risks.

22. Re-insurance of life risks effected by particular contracts and not under any general treaty remain in force.

The provisions of paragraph 12 apply to treaties of re-insurance of life insurance contracts in which enemy companies are the re-insurers.

23. In case of a re-insurance effected before the war of a contract of marine insurance the cession of a risk which had been ceded to the re-insurer shall, if it had attached before the outbreak of war, remain valid and effect be given to the contract notwithstanding the outbreak of war; sums due under the contract of re-insurance in respect either of premiums or of losses shall be recoverable after the war.

24. The provisions of paragraphs 17 and 18 and the last part of paragraph 16 shall apply to contracts for the re-insurance of marine risks.

SECTION VI.—*Mixed Arbitral Tribunal*

ARTICLE 304.—(a) Within three months from the date of the coming into force of the present treaty, a Mixed Arbitral Tribunal shall be established between each of the Allied and Associated Powers on the one hand and Germany on the other hand. Each such tribunal shall consist of three members. Each of the Governments concerned shall appoint one of these members. The President shall be chosen by agreement between the two Governments concerned.

In case of failure to reach agreement, the President of the tribunal and two other persons either of whom may in case of need take his place, shall be chosen by the Council of the League of Nations, or, until this is set up, by M. Gustave Ador if he is willing. These persons shall be nationals of Powers that have remained neutral during the war.

If any Government does not proceed within a period of one month in case there is a vacancy to appoint a member of the tribunal, such member shall be chosen by the other Government from the two persons mentioned above other than the President.

The decision of the majority of the members of the tribunal shall be the decision of the tribunal.

(b) The Mixed Arbitral Tribunals established pursuant to paragraph (a) shall decide all questions within their competence under Sections III., IV., V., and VII.

In addition, all questions, whatsoever their nature, relating to contracts concluded before the coming into force of the present treaty between nationals of the Allied and Associated Powers and German nationals shall be decided by the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal, always excepting questions which, under the laws of the Allied, Associated or neutral powers, are within the jurisdiction of the national courts of those powers. Such questions shall be decided by the national courts in question, to the exclusion of the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal. The party who is a national of an Allied or Associated Power may nevertheless bring the case before the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal if this is not prohibited by the laws of his country.

(c) If the number of cases justifies it, additional members shall be appointed and each Mixed Arbitral Tribunal shall sit in divisions. Each of these divisions will be constituted as above.

(d) Each Mixed Arbitral Tribunal will set-

the its own procedure except in so far as it is provided in the following Annex, and is empowered to award the sums to be paid by the loser in respect of the costs and expenses of the proceedings.

(c) Each Government will pay the remuneration of the member of the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal appointed by it and of any agent whom it may appoint to represent it before the Tribunal. The remuneration of the President will be determined by special agreement between the Governments concerned, and this remuneration and the joint expenses of each tribunal will be paid by the two Governments in equal moieties.

(f) The high contracting parties agree that their courts and authorities shall render to the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal direct all the assistance in their power, particularly as regards transmitting notices and collecting evidence.

(g) The high contracting parties agree to regard the decisions of the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal as final and conclusive, and to render them binding upon their nationals.

ANNEX

1. Should one of the members of the Tribunal either die, retire, or be unable for any reason whatever to discharge his functions, the same procedure will be followed for filling the vacancy as was followed for appointing him.

2. The tribunal may adopt such rules of procedure as shall be in accordance with justice and equity and decide the order and time at which each party must conclude its arguments, and may arrange all formalities required for dealing with the evidence.

3. The agent and counsel of the parties on each side are authorized to present orally and in writing to the tribunal arguments in support or in defense of each case.

4. The tribunal shall keep record of the questions and cases submitted and the proceedings thereon, with the dates of such proceedings.

5. Each of the Powers concerned may appoint a secretary. These secretaries shall act together as joint secretaries of the tribunal and shall be subject to its direction. The tribunal may appoint and employ any other necessary officer or officers to assist in the performance of its duties.

6. The tribunal shall decide all questions and matters submitted upon such evidence and information as may be furnished by the parties concerned.

7. Germany agrees to give the tribunal all facilities and information required by it for carrying out its investigations.

8. The language in which the proceedings shall be conducted shall, unless otherwise agreed, be English, French, Italian, or Japanese, as may be determined by the Allied or Associated Power concerned.

9. The place and time for the meetings of each tribunal shall be determined by the President of the tribunal.

ARTICLE 305.—Whenever a competent court has given or made a decision in a case covered by Sections III., IV., V. or VII., and such decision is inconsistent with the provisions of such sections, the party who is prejudiced by the decision shall be entitled to obtain redress which shall be fixed by the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal. At the request of the national of an Allied or Associated Power, the redress may, whenever possible, be effected by the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal directing the replacement of the parties in the position occupied by them before the judgment was given by the German Court.

SECTION VII.—Industrial Property

ARTICLE 306.—Subject to the stipulations of the present treaty, rights of industrial, lit-

erary, and artistic property, as such property is defined by the International Conventions of Paris and of Berne, mentioned in Article 286, shall be re-established or restored, as from the coming into force of the present treaty in the territories of the high contracting parties, in favor of the persons entitled to the benefit of them at the moment when the state of war commenced, or their legal representatives. Equally, rights which, except for the war, would have been acquired during the war in consequence of an application made for the protection of industrial property, or the publication of a literary or artistic work, shall be recognized and established in favor of those persons who would have been entitled thereto, from the coming into force of the present treaty.

Nevertheless, all acts done by virtue of the special measures taken during the war under legislative, executive or administrative authority of any Allied or Associated Power in regard to the rights of German nationals in industrial, literary or artistic property shall remain in force and shall continue to maintain their full effect.

No claim shall be made or action brought by Germany or German nationals in respect of the use during the war by the Government of any Allied or Associated Power, or by any persons acting on behalf or with the assent of such Government of any rights in industrial, literary or artistic property, nor in respect of the sale, offering for sale, or use of any products, articles, or apparatus whatsoever to which such rights applied.

Unless the legislation of any one of the Allied or Associated Powers in force at the moment of the signature of the present treaty otherwise directs, sums due or paid in virtue of any act or operation resulting from the execution of the special measures mentioned in Paragraph 1 of this article shall be dealt with in the same way as other sums due to German nationals are directed to be dealt with by the present treaty; and sums produced by any special measures taken by the German Government in respect of rights in industrial, literary or artistic property belonging to the nationals of the Allied or Associated Powers shall be considered and treated in the same way as other debts due from German nationals.

Each of the Allied and Associated Powers reserves to itself the right to impose such limitations, conditions or restrictions on rights of industrial, literary or artistic property (with the exception of trade-marks) acquired before or during the war, or which may be subsequently acquired in accordance with its legislation, by German nationals, whether by granting licenses, or by the working, or by preserving control over their exploitation, or in any other way as may be considered necessary for national defense or in the public interest, or for assuring the fair treatment by Germany of the rights of industrial, literary, and artistic property held in German territory by its nationals, or for securing the due fulfillment of all the obligations undertaken by Germany in the present treaty.

As regards rights of industrial, literary and artistic property acquired after the coming into force of the present treaty, the right so reserved by the Allied and Associated Powers shall only be exercised in cases where these limitations, conditions or restrictions may be considered necessary for national defense or in the public interest.

In the event of the application of the provisions of the preceding paragraph by any of the Allied or Associated Powers, there shall be paid reasonable indemnities or royalties which shall be dealt with in the same way as other sums due to German nationals are directed to be dealt with by the present treaty.

Each of the Allied or Associated Powers

reserves the right to treat as void and of no effect any transfer in whole or in part of or other dealing with rights of or in respect of industrial, literary or artistic property effected after Aug. 1, 1914, or in the future, which would have the result of defeating the objects of the provisions of this article.

The provisions of this article shall not apply to rights in industrial, literary or artistic property which have been dealt with in the liquidation of businesses or companies under war legislation by the Allied or Associated Powers, or which may be so dealt with by virtue of Article 297, paragraph (b).

ARTICLE 307.—A minimum of one year after the coming into force of the present treaty shall be accorded to the nationals of the high contracting parties, without extension fees or other penalty, in order to enable such persons to accomplish any act, fulfill any formality, pay any fees, and generally satisfy any obligation prescribed by the laws or regulations of the respective States relating to the obtaining, preserving, or opposing rights to, or in respect of, industrial property either acquired before the 1st of August, 1914, or which, except for the war, might have been acquired since that date as a result of an application made before the war or during its continuance, but nothing in this article shall give any right to reopen interference proceedings in the United States of America where a final hearing has taken place.

All rights in, or in respect of, such property which may have lapsed by reason of any failure to accomplish any act, fulfill any formality, or make any payment, shall revive, but subject in the case of patents and designs to the imposition of such conditions as each Allied or Associated Power may deem reasonably necessary for the protection of persons who have manufactured or made use of the subject matter of such property while the rights had lapsed. Further, where rights to patents or designs belonging to German nationals are revived under this article, they shall be subject in respect of the grant of licenses to the same provisions as would have been applicable to them during the war, as well as to all the provisions of the present treaty.

The period from the 1st August, 1914, until the coming into force of the present treaty shall be excluded in considering the time within which a patent should be worked or a trade mark or design used, and it is further agreed that no patent, registered trade mark or design in force on the 1st of August, 1914, shall be subject to revocation or cancellation by reason only of the failure to work such patent or use such trade mark or design for two years after the coming into force of the present treaty.

ARTICLE 308.—The rights of priority, provided by Article IV of the International Convention for the Protection of Industrial Property of Paris, of the 20th March, 1883, revised at Washington in 1911, or by any other convention or statute, for the filing or registration of applications for patents or models of utility, and for the registration of trade marks, designs, and models which had not expired on the 1st August, 1914, and those which have arisen during the war, or would have arisen but for the war, shall be extended by each of the high contracting parties in favor of all nationals of the other high contracting parties for a period of six months after the coming into force of the present treaty.

Nevertheless, such extension shall in no way affect the right of any of the high contracting parties or of any person who before the coming into force of the present treaty was *bona fide* in possession of any rights of industrial property conflicting with rights applied for by another who claims rights of priority in respect of them, to exercise such rights by itself or himself per-

sonally, or by such agents or licensees as derived their rights from it or him before the coming into force of the present treaty; and such persons shall not be amenable to any action or other process of law in respect of infringement.

ARTICLE 309.—No action shall be brought and no claim made by persons residing or carrying on business within the territories of Germany on the one part and of the Allied or Associated Powers on the other, or persons who are nationals of such powers, respectively, or by any one deriving title during the war from such persons, by reason of any action which has taken place within the territory of the other party between the date of the declaration of war and that of the coming into force of the present treaty, which might constitute an infringement of the rights of industrial property or rights of literary and artistic property, either existing at any time during the war or revived under the provisions of Articles 307 and 308.

Equally, no action for infringement of industrial, literary or artistic property rights by such persons shall at any time be permissible in respect of the sale or offering for sale for a period of one year after the signature of the present treaty in the territories of the Allied or Associated Powers on the one hand or Germany on the other, of products or articles manufactured, or of literary or artistic works published, during the period between the declaration of war and the signature of the present treaty, or against those who have acquired and continue to use them. It is understood, nevertheless, that this provision shall not apply when the possessor of the rights was domiciled or had an industrial or commercial establishment in the districts occupied by Germany during the war.

This article shall not apply as between the United States of America on the one hand and Germany on the other.

ARTICLE 310.—Licenses in respect of industrial, literary, or artistic property concluded before the war between nationals of the Allied or Associated Powers or persons residing in their territory or carrying on business therein, on the one part, and German nationals, on the other part, shall be considered as canceled as from the date of the declaration of war between Germany and the Allied or Associated Powers. But, in any case, the former beneficiary of a contract of this kind shall have the right, within a period of six months after the coming into force of the present treaty, to demand from the proprietor of the rights the grant of a new license, the conditions of which, in default of agreement between the parties, shall be fixed by the duly qualified tribunal in the country under whose legislation the rights had been acquired, except in the case of licenses held in respect of rights acquired under German law. In such cases the conditions shall be fixed by the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal referred to in Section VI. of this Part. The tribunal may, if necessary, fix also the amount which it may deem just should be paid by reason of the use of the rights during the war.

No license in respect of industrial, literary, or artistic property, granted under the special war legislation of any Allied or Associated Power, shall be affected by the continued existence of any license entered into before the war, but shall remain valid and of full effect, and a license so granted to the former beneficiary of a license entered into before the war shall be considered as substituted for such license.

Where sums have been paid during the war by virtue of a license or agreement concluded before the war in respect of rights of industrial property or for the reproduction or the representation of literary, dramatic, or artistic works, these sums shall be dealt with in the same manner as other debts or credits

of German nationals, as provided by the present treaty.

This Article shall not apply as between the United States of America on the one hand and Germany on the other.

ARTICLE 311.—The inhabitants of territories separated from Germany by virtue of the present treaty shall, notwithstanding this separation and the change of nationality consequent thereon, continue to enjoy in Germany all the rights in industrial, literary, and artistic property to which they were entitled under German legislation at the time of the separation.

Rights of industrial, literary and artistic property which are in force in the territories separated from Germany under the present treaty at the moment of the separation of these territories from Germany, or which will be re-established or restored in accordance with the provisions of Article 306 of the present treaty, shall be recognized by the State to which the said territory is transferred and shall remain in force in that territory for the same period of time given them under the German law.

SECTION VIII.—*Social and State Insurance in Ceded Territory*

ARTICLE 312.—Without prejudice to the provisions contained in other articles of the present treaty, the German Government undertakes to transfer to any power to which

German territory in Europe is ceded, and to any power administering former German territory as a mandatory under Article 22 of Part I., (League of Nations,) such portion of the reserves accumulated by the Government of the German Empire or of German States, or by public or private organizations under their control, as is attributable to the carrying on of social or State insurance in such territory.

The powers to which these funds are transferred must apply them to the performance of the obligations arising from such insurances.

The conditions of the transfer will be determined by special conventions to be concluded between the German Government and the Governments concerned.

In case these special conventions are not concluded in accordance with the above paragraph within three months after the coming into force of the present treaty, the conditions of transfer shall in each case be referred to a commission of five members, one of whom shall be appointed by the German Government, one by the other interested Government, and three by the governing body of the International Labor Office from the nationals of other States. This commission shall by majority vote within three months after appointment adopt recommendations for submission to the Council of the League of Nations, and the decisions of the council shall forthwith be accepted as final by Germany and the other Government concerned.

PART XI.—Aerial Navigation

ARTICLE 313.—The aircraft of the Allied and Associated Powers shall have full liberty of passage and landing over and in the territory and territorial waters of Germany, and shall enjoy the same privileges as German aircraft, particularly in case of distress by land or sea.

ARTICLE 314.—The aircraft of the Allied and Associated Powers shall, while in transit to any foreign country whatever, enjoy the right of flying over the territory and territorial waters of Germany without landing, subject always to any regulations which may be made by Germany, and which shall be applicable equally to the aircraft of Germany and those of the Allied and Associated Countries.

ARTICLE 315.—All aerodromes in Germany open to national public traffic shall be open for the aircraft of the Allied and Associated Powers, and in any such aerodrome such aircraft shall be treated on a footing of equality with German aircraft as regards charges of every description, including charges for landing and accommodation.

ARTICLE 316.—Subject to the present provisions, the rights of passage, transit and landing, provided for in Articles 313, 314 and 315, are subject to the observance of such regulations as Germany may consider it necessary to enact, but such regulations

shall be applied without distinction to German aircraft and to those of Allied and Associated Countries.

ARTICLE 317.—Certificates of nationality, airworthiness, or competency, and licenses, issued or recognized as valid by any of the Allied or Associated Powers, shall be recognized in Germany as valid and as equivalent to the certificates and licenses issued by Germany.

ARTICLE 318.—As regards internal commercial air traffic, the aircraft of the Allied and Associated Powers shall enjoy in Germany most favored nation treatment.

ARTICLE 319.—Germany undertakes to enforce the necessary measures to insure that all German aircraft flying over her territory shall comply with the rules as to lights and signals, rules of the air and rules for air traffic on and in the neighborhood of aerodromes, which have been laid down in the convention relative to aerial navigation concluded between the Allied and Associated Powers.

ARTICLE 320.—The obligations imposed by the preceding provisions shall remain in force until the 1st January, 1923, unless before that date Germany shall have been admitted into the League of Nations or shall have been authorized, by consent of the Allied and Associated Powers, to adhere to the convention relative to aerial navigation concluded between those powers.

PART XII.—Ports, Waterways and Railways

SECTION I.—*General Provisions*

ARTICLE 321.—Germany undertakes to grant freedom of transit through her territories on the routes most convenient for international transit, either by rail, navigable waterway, or canal, to persons, goods, vessels, carriages, wagons, and mails

coming from or going to the territories of any of the Allied and Associated Powers, (whether contiguous or not;) for this purpose the crossing of territorial waters shall be allowed. Such persons, goods, vessels, carriages, wagons, and mails shall not be subjected to any transit duty or to any undue

delays or restrictions, and shall be entitled in Germany to national treatment as regards charges, facilities, and all other matters.

Goods in transit shall be exempt from all customs or other similar duties.

All charges imposed on transport in transit shall be reasonable, having regard to the conditions of the traffic. No charge, facility, or restriction shall depend directly or indirectly on the ownership or on the nationality of the ship or other means of transport on which any part of the through journey has been, or is to be, accomplished.

ARTICLE 322.—Germany undertakes neither to impose nor to maintain any control over transmigration traffic through her territories beyond measures necessary to insure that passengers are bona fide in transit; nor to allow any shipping company or any other private body, corporation, or person interested in the traffic to take any part whatever in, or to exercise any direct or indirect influence over, any administrative service that may be necessary for this purpose.

ARTICLE 323.—Germany undertakes to make no discrimination or preference, direct or indirect, in the duties, charges, and prohibitions relating to importations into or exportations from her territories, or, subject to the special engagements contained in the present treaty, in the charges and conditions of transport of goods or persons entering or leaving her territories, based on the frontier crossed; or on the kind, ownership, or flag of the means of transport (including aircraft) employed; or on the original or immediate place of departure of the vessel, wagon, or aircraft or other means of transport employed, or its ultimate or intermediate destination; or on the route of or places of transshipment on the journey; or on whether any port through which the goods are imported or exported is a German port or a port belonging to any foreign country or on whether the goods are imported or exported by sea, by land, or by air.

Germany particularly undertakes not to establish against the ports and vessels of any of the Allied and Associated Powers any surtax or any direct or indirect bounty for export or import by German ports of vessels, or by those of another power, for example by means of combined tariffs. She further undertakes that persons or goods passing through a port or using a vessel of any of the Allied and Associated Powers shall not be subjected to any formality or delay whatever to which such persons or goods would not be subjected if they passed through a German port or a port of any other power, or used a German vessel or a vessel of any other power.

ARTICLE 324.—All necessary administrative and technical measures shall be taken to shorten, as much as possible, the transmission of goods across the German frontiers and to insure their forwarding and transport from such frontiers, irrespective of whether such goods are coming from or going to the territories of the Allied and Associated Powers or are in transit from or to those territories, under the same material conditions in such matters as rapidity of carriage and care en route as are enjoyed by other goods of the same kind carried on German territory under similar conditions of transport.

In particular, the transport of perishable goods shall be promptly and regularly carried out, and the customs formalities shall be effected in such a way as to allow the goods to be carried straight through by trains which make connection.

ARTICLE 325.—The seaports of the Allied and Associated Powers are entitled to all favors and to all reduced tariffs granted on German railways or navigable waterways for the benefit of German ports or of any port of another power.

ARTICLE 326.—Germany may not refuse to participate in the tariffs or combinations of

tariffs intended to secure for ports of any of the Allied and Associated Powers advantages similar to those granted by Germany to her own ports or the ports of any other power.

SECTION II.—Navigation

CHAPTER I.—FREEDOM OF NAVIGATION

ARTICLE 327.—The nationals of any of the Allied and Associated Powers as well as their vessels and property shall enjoy in all German ports and in the inland navigation routes of Germany, the same treatment in all respects as German nationals, vessels and property.

In particular the vessels of any one of the Allied or Associated Powers shall be entitled to transport goods of any description, and passengers, to or from any ports or places in German territory to which German vessels may have access, under conditions which shall not be more onerous than those applied in the case of national vessels; they shall be treated on a footing of equality with national vessels as regards port and harbor facilities and charges of every description, including facilities for stationing, loading and unloading, and duties and charges of tonnage, harbor, pilotage, light-house, quarantine, and all analogous duties and charges of whatsoever nature, levied in the name of or for the profit of the Government, public functionaries, private individuals, corporations or establishments of any kind.

In the event of Germany granting a preferential régime to any of the Allied or Associated Powers or to any other foreign power, this régime shall be extended immediately and unconditionally to all the Allied and Associated Powers.

There shall be no impediment to the movement of persons or vessels other than those arising from prescriptions concerning customs, police, sanitation, emigration and immigration and those relating to the import and export of prohibited goods. Such regulations must be reasonable and uniform and must not impede traffic unnecessarily.

CHAPTER II.—FREE ZONES IN PORTS

ARTICLE 328.—The free zones existing in German ports on the 1st August, 1914, shall be maintained. These free zones and any other free zones which may be established in German territory by the present treaty, shall be subject to the régime provided for in the following articles.

Goods entering or leaving a free zone shall not be subjected to any import or export duty, other than those provided for in Article 330.

Vessels and goods entering a free zone may be subjected to the charges established to cover expenses of administration, upkeep and improvement of the port, as well as to the charges for the use of various installations, provided that these charges shall be reasonable having regard to the expenditure incurred, and shall be levied in the conditions of equality provided for in Article 327.

Goods shall not be subjected to any other charge except a statistical duty which shall not exceed 1 per mille ad valorem, and which shall be devoted exclusively to defraying the expenses of compiling statements of the traffic in the port.

ARTICLE 329.—The facilities granted for the erection of warehouses, for packing and for unpacking goods, shall be in accordance with trade requirements for the time being. All goods allowed to be consumed in the free zone shall be exempt from duty, whether of excise or of any other description, apart

from the statistical duty provided for in Article 328 above.

There shall be no discrimination in regard to any of the provisions of the present article between persons belonging to different nationalities or between goods of different origin or destination.

ARTICLE 330.—Import duties may be levied on goods leaving the free zone for consumption in the country on the territory of which the port is situated. Conversely, export duties may be levied on goods coming from such country and brought into the free zone. These import and export duties shall be levied on the same basis and at the same rates as similar duties levied at the other customs frontiers of the country concerned. On the other hand, Germany shall not levy, under any denomination, any import, export, or transit duty on goods carried by land or water across her territory to or from the free zone from or to any other State.

Germany shall draw up the necessary regulations to secure and guarantee such freedom of transit over such railways and waterways in her territory as normally give access to the free zone.

CHAPTER III.—CLAUSES RELATING TO THE ELBE, THE ODER, THE NIEMEN, (RUSSTROM-ME-MEL-NIEMEN,) AND THE DANUBE

(1) General Clauses

ARTICLE 331.—The following rivers are declared international:

The Elbe (Labe) from its confluence with the Vltava (Moldau,) and the Vltava (Moldau) from Prague;
the Oder (Odra) from its confluence with the Oppa;
the Niemen (Russtrom-Memel-Niemen) from Grodno;
the Danube from Ulm;

and all navigable parts of these river systems which naturally provide more than one State with access to the sea, with or without transshipment from one vessel to another; together with lateral canals and channels constructed either to duplicate or to improve naturally navigable sections of the specified river system, or to connect two naturally navigable sections of the same river.

The same shall apply to the Rhine-Danube navigable waterway, should such a waterway be constructed under the conditions laid down in Article 353.

ARTICLE 332.—On the waterways declared to be international in the preceding article, the nationals, property and flags of all powers shall be treated on a footing of perfect equality, no distinction being made to the detriment of the nationals, property or flag of any power between them and the nationals, property or flag of the riparian State itself or of the most favored nation.

Nevertheless, German vessels shall not be entitled to carry passengers or goods by regular services between the ports of any Allied or Associated Power, without special authority from such power.

ARTICLE 333.—Where such charges are not precluded by any existing conventions, charges varying on different sections of a river may be levied on vessels using the navigable channels or their approaches, provided that they are intended solely to cover equitably the cost of maintaining in a navigable condition, or of improving, the river and its approaches, or to meet expenditure incurred in the interests of navigation. The schedule of such charges shall be calculated on the basis of such expenditure and shall be posted up in the ports. These charges shall be levied in such a manner as to render any detailed examination of cargoes unnecessary, except in cases of suspected fraud or contravention.

ARTICLE 334.—The transit of vessels, passengers, and goods on these waterways shall be effected in accordance with the general conditions prescribed for transit in Section I, above.

When the two banks of an international river are within the same State goods in transit may be placed under seal or in the custody of customs agents. When the river forms a frontier goods and passengers in transit shall be exempt from all customs formalities; the loading and unloading of goods, and the embarkation and disembarkation of passengers, shall only take place in the ports specified by the riparian State.

ARTICLE 335.—No dues of any kind other than those provided for in the present part shall be levied along the course or at the mouth of these rivers.

This provision shall not prevent the fixing by the riparian States of customs, local octroi, or consumption duties, or the creation of reasonable and uniform charges levied in the ports, in accordance with public tariffs, for the use of cranes, elevators, quays, warehouses, &c.

ARTICLE 336.—In default of any special organization for carrying out the works connected with the upkeep and improvement of the international portion of a navigable system, each riparian State shall be bound to take suitable measures to remove any obstacle or danger to navigation and to insure the maintenance of good conditions of navigation.

If a State neglects to comply with this obligation any riparian State, or any State represented on the International Commission, if there is one, may appeal to the tribunal instituted for this purpose by the League of Nations.

ARTICLE 337.—The same procedure shall be followed in the case of a riparian State undertaking any works of a nature to impede navigation in the international section. The tribunal mentioned in the preceding article shall be entitled to enforce the suspension or suppression of such works, making due allowance in its decisions for all rights in connection with irrigation, water-power, fisheries, and other national interests, which, with the consent of all the riparian States or of all the States represented on the International Commission, if there be one, shall be given priority over the requirements of navigation.

Appeal to the tribunal of the League of Nations does not require the suspension of the works.

ARTICLE 338.—The régime set out in Articles 332 to 337 above shall be superseded by one to be laid down in a General Convention drawn up by the Allied and Associated Powers, and approved by the League of Nations, relating to the waterways recognized in such Convention as having an international character. This Convention shall apply in particular to the whole or part of the above-mentioned river systems of the Elbe, (Labe,) the Oder, (Odra,) the Niemen, (Russtrom-Memel-Niemen,) and the Danube, and such other parts of these river systems as may be covered by a general definition.

Germany undertakes, in accordance with the provisions of Article 379, to adhere to the said General Convention as well as to all projects prepared in accordance with Article 343 below for the revision of existing international agreements and regulations.

ARTICLE 339.—Germany shall cede to the Allied and Associated Powers concerned, within a maximum period of three months from the date on which notification shall be given her, a proportion of the tugs and vessels remaining registered in the ports of the river systems referred to in Article 331 after the deduction of those surrendered by way of restitution or reparation. Germany shall in the same way cede material of all kinds necessary to the Allied and Associated Powers concerned for the utilization of those river systems.

The number of the tugs and boats and the amount of the material so ceded, and their distribution, shall be determined by an arbitrator or arbitrators nominated by the United States of America, due regard being had to the legitimate needs of the parties concerned, and particularly to the shipping traffic during the five years preceding the war.

All craft so ceded shall be provided with their fittings and gear, shall be in a good state of repair and in condition to carry goods, and shall be selected from among those most recently built.

The cessions provided for in the present article shall entail a credit of which the total amount, settled in a lump sum by the arbitrator or arbitrators, shall not in any case exceed the value of the capital expended in the initial establishment of the material ceded, and shall be set off against the total sums due from Germany; in consequence, the indemnification of the proprietors shall be a matter for Germany to deal with.

(2) *Special Clauses Relating to the Elbe, the Oder, and the Niemen, (Russtrom-Memel-Niemen)*

ARTICLE 340.—The Elbe (Labe) shall be placed under the administration of an International Commission which shall comprise:

- 4 representatives of the German States bordering on the river;
- 2 representatives of the Czechoslovak State;
- 1 representative of Great Britain;
- 1 representative of France;
- 1 representative of Italy;
- 1 representative of Belgium.

Whatever be the number of members present, each delegation shall have the right to record a number of votes equal to the number of representatives allotted to it.

If certain of these representatives cannot be appointed at the time of the coming into force of the present treaty, the decisions of the commission shall nevertheless be valid.

ARTICLE 341.—The Oder (Odra) shall be placed under the administration of an International Commission, which shall comprise:

- 1 representative of Poland;
- 3 representatives of Prussia;
- 1 representative of the Czechoslovak State;
- 1 representative of Great Britain;
- 1 representative of France;
- 1 representative of Denmark;
- 1 representative of Sweden.

If certain of these representatives cannot be appointed at the time of the coming into force of the present treaty, the decisions of the commission shall nevertheless be valid.

ARTICLE 342.—On a request being made to the League of Nations by any riparian State, the Niemen (Russtrom-Memel-Niemen) shall be placed under the administration of an International Commission, which shall comprise one representative of each riparian State, and three representatives of other States specified by the League of Nations.

ARTICLE 343.—The International Commissions referred to in Articles 340 and 341 shall meet within three months of the date of the coming into force of the present treaty. The International Commission referred to in Article 342 shall meet within three months from the date of the request made by a riparian State. Each of these commissions shall proceed immediately to prepare a project for the revision of the existing international agreements and regulations, drawn up in conformity with the General Convention referred to in Article 338, should such convention have been already concluded. In the absence of such convention, the project for

revision shall be in conformity with the principles of Articles 332 to 337, above.

ARTICLE 344.—The projects referred to in the preceding article shall, *inter alia*:

(a) Designate the headquarters of the International Commission, and prescribe the manner in which its President is to be nominated;

(b) Specify the extent of the commission's powers, particularly in regard to the execution of works of maintenance, control, and improvement on the river system, the financial régime, the fixing and collection of charges, and regulations for navigation;

(c) Define the sections of the river or its tributaries to which the international régime shall be applied.

ARTICLE 345.—The international agreements and regulations at present governing the navigation of the Elbe, (Labe,) the Oder, (Odra,) and the Niemen (Russtrom-Memel-Niemen) shall be provisionally maintained in force until the ratification of the above-mentioned projects. Nevertheless, in all cases where such agreements and regulations in force are in conflict with the provisions of Articles 332 to 337 above, or of the General Convention to be concluded, the latter provisions shall prevail.

(3) *Special Clauses Relating to the Danube*

ARTICLE 346.—The European Commission of the Danube reassumes the powers it possessed before the war. Nevertheless, as a provisional measure, only representatives of Great Britain, France, Italy, and Rumania shall constitute this commission.

ARTICLE 347.—From the point where the competence of the European Commission ceases, the Danube system referred to in Article 331 shall be placed under the administration of an international commission composed as follows:

- 2 representatives of German riparian States;
- 1 representative of each other riparian State;
- 1 representative of each non-riparian State represented in the future on the European Commission of the Danube.

If certain of these representatives cannot be appointed at the time of the coming into force of the present treaty, the decisions of the commission shall nevertheless be valid.

ARTICLE 348.—The International Commission provided for in the preceding article shall meet as soon as possible after the coming into force of the present treaty, and shall undertake provisionally the administration of the river in conformity with the provisions of Articles 332 to 337, until such time as a definitive statute regarding the Danube is concluded by the powers nominated by the Allied and Associated Powers.

ARTICLE 349.—Germany agrees to accept the régime which shall be laid down for the Danube by a conference of the powers nominated by the Allied and Associated Powers, which shall meet within one year after the coming into force of the present treaty, and at which German representatives may be present.

ARTICLE 350.—The mandate given by Article 57 of the Treaty of Berlin of the 13th July, 1878, to Austria-Hungary, and transferred by her to Hungary, to carry out works at the Iron Gates, is abrogated. The commission intrusted with the administration of this part of the river shall lay down provisions for the settlement of accounts subject to the financial provisions of the present treaty. Charges which may be necessary shall in no case be levied by Hungary.

ARTICLE 351.—Should the Czechoslovak State, the Serb-Croat-Slovene State, or Rumania, with the authorization of or under mandate from the International Commission, undertake maintenance, improvement, weir,

or other works on a part of the river system which forms a frontier, these States shall enjoy on the opposite bank, and also on the part of the bed which is outside their territory, all necessary facilities for the survey, execution, and maintenance of such works.

ARTICLE 352.—Germany shall be obliged to make to the European Commission of the Danube all restitutions, reparations, and indemnities for damages inflicted on the commission during the war.

ARTICLE 353.—Should a deep-draught Rhine-Danube navigable waterway be constructed, Germany undertakes to apply thereto the régime prescribed in Articles 332 to 338.

CHAPTER IV.—CLAUSES RELATING TO THE RHINE AND THE MOSELLE

ARTICLE 354.—As from the coming into force of the present treaty, the Convention of Mannheim of 17th October, 1868, together with the Final Protocol thereof, shall continue to govern navigation on the Rhine, subject to the conditions hereinafter laid down.

In the event of any provisions of the said Convention being in conflict with those laid down by the General Convention referred to in Article 338, (which shall apply to the Rhine,) the provisions of the General Convention shall prevail.

Within a maximum period of six months from the coming into force of the present treaty, the Central Commission referred to in Article 355 shall meet to draw up a project of revision of the Convention of Mannheim. This project shall be drawn up in harmony with the provisions of the General Convention referred to above, should this have been concluded by that time, and shall be submitted to the powers represented on the Central Commission. Germany hereby agrees to adhere to the project so drawn up.

Further, the modifications set out in the following articles shall immediately be made in the Convention of Mannheim.

The Allied and Associated Powers reserve to themselves the right to arrive at an understanding in this connection with Holland, and Germany hereby agrees to accede if required to any such understanding.

ARTICLE 355.—The Central Commission provided for in the Convention of Mannheim shall consist of nineteen members, viz.:

Two representatives of the Netherlands;
Two representatives of Switzerland;
Four representatives of German riparian States;

Four representatives of France, which in addition shall appoint the President of the Commission;

Two representatives of Great Britain;
Two representatives of Italy;
Two representatives of Belgium.
The headquarters of the Central Commission shall be at Strasbourg.

Whatever be the number of members present, each delegation shall have the right to record a number of votes equal to the number of representatives allotted to it.

If certain of these representatives cannot be appointed at the time of the coming into force of the present treaty, the decisions of the Commission shall nevertheless be valid.

ARTICLE 356.—Vessels of all nations, and their cargoes, shall have the same rights and privileges as those which are granted to vessels belonging to the Rhine navigation, and to their cargoes.

None of the provisions contained in Articles 15 to 20 and 26 of the above-mentioned Convention of Mannheim, in Article 4 of the Final Protocol thereof, or in later Conventions, shall impede the free navigation of vessels and crews of all nations on the Rhine and on waterways to which such Conventions apply, subject to compliance with the regulations concerning pilotage and other police

measures drawn up by the Central Commission.

The provisions of Article 22 of the Convention of Mannheim and of Article 5 of the Final Protocol thereof shall be applied only to vessels registered on the Rhine. The Central Commission shall decide on the steps to be taken to insure that other vessels satisfy the conditions of the general regulations applying to navigation on the Rhine.

ARTICLE 357.—Within a maximum period of three months from the date on which notification shall be given Germany shall cede to France tugs and vessels, from among those remaining registered in German Rhine ports after the deduction of those surrendered by way of restitution or reparation, or shares in German Rhine navigation companies.

When vessels and tugs are ceded, such vessels and tugs, together with their fittings and gear, shall be in good state of repair, shall be in condition to carry on commercial traffic on the Rhine, and shall be selected from among those most recently built.

The same procedure shall be followed in the matter of the cession by Germany to France of—

(1) the installations, berthing, and anchorage accommodation, platforms, docks, warehouses, plant, &c., which German subjects or German companies owned on the 1st August, 1914, in the port of Rotterdam, and

(2) the shares or interests which Germany or German nationals possessed in such installations at the same date.

The amount and specifications of such cessions shall be determined within one year of the coming into force of the present treaty by an arbitrator or arbitrators appointed by the United States of America, due regard being had to the legitimate needs of the parties concerned.

The cessions provided for in the present article shall entail a credit of which the total amount, settled in a lump sum by the arbitrator or arbitrators mentioned above, shall not in any case exceed the value of the capital expended in the initial establishment of the ceded material and installations, and shall be set off against the total sums due from Germany; in consequence, the indemnification of the proprietors shall be a matter for Germany to deal with.

ARTICLE 358.—Subject to the obligation to comply with the provisions of the Convention of Mannheim or of the convention which may be substituted therefor, and to the stipulations of the present treaty, France shall have on the whole course of the Rhine included between the two extreme points of the French frontiers—

(a) the right to take water from the Rhine to feed navigation and irrigation canals (constructed or to be constructed) or for any other purpose, and to execute on the German bank all works necessary for the exercise of this right;

(b) the exclusive right to the power derived from works of regulation on the river, subject to the payment to Germany of the value of half the power actually produced, this payment, which will take into account the cost of the works necessary for producing the power, being made either in money or in power and in default of agreement being determined by arbitration. For this purpose France alone shall have the right to carry out in this part of the river all works of regulation (weirs or other works) which she may consider necessary for the production of power. Similarly, the right of taking water from the Rhine is accorded to Belgium to feed the Rhine-Meuse navigable waterway provided for below.

The exercise of the rights mentioned under (a) and (b) of the present article shall not interfere with navigability nor reduce the facilities for navigation, either in the bed of the Rhine or in the derivations which may be substituted therefor, nor shall it involve any increase in the tolls formerly levied un-

der the convention in force. All proposed schemes shall be laid before the Central Commission in order that that commission may assure itself that these conditions are complied with.

To insure the proper and faithful execution of the provisions contained in (a) and (b) above, Germany:

(i) binds herself not to undertake or to allow the construction of any lateral canal or any derivation on the right bank of the river opposite the French frontiers;

(ii) recognizes the possession by France of the right of support on and the right of way over all lands situated on the right bank which may be required in order to survey, to build, and to operate weirs which France, with the consent of the Central Commission, may subsequently decide to establish. In accordance with such consent, France shall be entitled to decide upon and fix the limits of the necessary sites, and she shall be permitted to occupy such lands after a period of two months after simple notification, subject to the payment by her to Germany of indemnities of which the total amount shall be fixed by the Central Commission. Germany shall make it her business to indemnify the proprietors whose property will be burdened with such servitudes or permanently occupied by the works.

Should Switzerland so demand, and if the Central Commission approves, the same rights shall be accorded to Switzerland for the part of the river forming her frontier with other riparian States;

(iii) shall hand over to the French Government, during the month following the coming into force of the present treaty, all projects, designs, drafts of concessions and of specifications concerning the regulation of the Rhine for any purpose whatever which have been drawn up or received by the Governments of Alsace-Lorraine or of the Grand Duchy of Baden.

ARTICLE 359.—Subject to the preceding provisions, no works shall be carried out in the bed or on either bank of the Rhine where it forms the boundary of France and Germany without the previous approval of the Central Commission or of its agents.

ARTICLE 360.—France reserves the option of substituting herself as regards the rights and obligations resulting from agreements arrived at between the Government of Alsace-Lorraine and the Grand Duchy of Baden concerning the works to be carried out on the Rhine; she may also denounce such agreements within a term of five years dating from the coming into force of the present treaty.

France shall also have the option of causing works to be carried out which may be recognized as necessary by the Central Commission for the upkeep or improvement of the navigability of the Rhine above Mannheim.

ARTICLE 361.—Should Belgium, within a period of 25 years from the coming into force of the present treaty decide to create a deep-draught Rhine-Meuse navigable waterway, in the region of Ruhrort, Germany shall be bound to construct, in accordance with plans to be communicated to her by the Belgian Government, after agreement with the Central Commission, the portion of this navigable waterway situated within her territory.

The Belgian Government shall, for this purpose, have the right to carry out on the ground all necessary surveys.

Should Germany fail to carry out all or part of these works, the Central Commission shall be entitled to carry them out instead; and, for this purpose, the commission may decide upon and fix the limits of the necessary sites and occupy the ground after a period of two months after simple notification, subject to the payment of indemnities to be fixed by it and paid by Germany.

This navigable waterway shall be placed under the same administrative régime as the

Rhine itself, and the division of the cost of initial construction, including the above indemnities, among the States crossed thereby shall be made by the Central Commission.

ARTICLE 362.—Germany hereby agrees to offer no objection to any proposals of the Central Rhine Commission for extending its jurisdiction:

(1) to the Moselle below the Franco-Luxemburg frontier down to the Rhine, subject to the consent of Luxembourg;

(2) to the Rhine above Basle up to the Lake of Constance, subject to the consent of Switzerland;

(3) to the lateral canals and channels which may be established either to duplicate or to improve naturally navigable sections of the Rhine or the Moselle, or to connect two naturally navigable sections of these rivers, and also any other parts of the Rhine River system which may be covered by the General Convention provided for in Article 338 above.

CHAPTER V.—CLAUSES GIVING TO THE CZECHOSLOVAK STATE THE USE OF NORTHERN PORTS

ARTICLE 363.—In the ports of Hamburg and Stettin Germany shall lease to the Czechoslovak State, for a period of ninety-nine years, areas which shall be placed under the general régime of free zones and shall be used for the direct transit of goods coming from or going to that State.

ARTICLE 364.—The delimitation of these areas, and their equipment, their exploitation, and in general all conditions for their utilization, including the amount of the rental, shall be decided by a commission consisting of one delegate of Germany, one delegate of the Czechoslovak State and one delegate of Great Britain. These conditions shall be susceptible of revision every ten years in the same manner.

Germany declares in advance that she will adhere to the decisions so taken.

SECTION III.—Railways

CHAPTER I.—CLAUSES RELATING TO INTERNATIONAL TRANSPORT

ARTICLE 365.—Goods coming from the territories of the Allied and Associated Powers, and going to Germany, or in transit through Germany from or to the territories of the Allied and Associated Powers, shall enjoy on the German railways as regards charges to be collected (rebates and drawbacks being taken into account) facilities, and all other matters, the most favorable treatment applied to goods of the same kind carried on any German lines, either in internal traffic, or for export, import or in transit, under similar conditions of transport, for example as regards length of route. The same rule shall be applied, on the request of one or more of the Allied and Associated Powers, to goods specially designated by such power or powers coming from Germany and going to their territories.

International tariffs established in accordance with the rates referred to in the preceding paragraph and involving through waybills shall be established when one of the Allied and Associated Powers shall require it from Germany.

ARTICLE 366.—From the coming into force of the present treaty the high contracting parties shall renew, in so far as concerns them and under the reserves indicated in the second paragraph of the present Article, the conventions and arrangements signed at Berne on the 14th of October, 1890, the 20th September, 1893, the 16th July, 1895, the 16th June, 1898, and the 19th September, 1906, regarding the transportation of goods by rail.

If within five years from the date of the

coming into force of the present treaty a new convention for the transportation of passengers, luggage and goods by rail shall have been concluded to replace the Berne convention of the 14th October, 1890 and the subsequent additions referred to above, this new convention and the supplementary provisions for international transport by rail which may be based on it shall bind Germany even if she shall have refused to take part in the preparation of the convention or to subscribe to it. Until a new convention shall have been concluded, Germany shall conform to the provisions of the Berne Convention and the subsequent additions referred to above, and to the current supplementary provisions.

ARTICLE 367.—Germany shall be bound to co-operate in the establishment of through ticket services (for passengers and their luggage) which shall be required by any of the Allied and Associated Powers to insure their communication by rail with each other and with all other countries by transit across the territories of Germany; in particular Germany shall, for this purpose, accept trains and carriages coming from the territories of the Allied and Associated Powers and shall forward them with a speed at least equal to that of her best long-distance trains on the same lines. The rates applicable to such through services shall not in any case be higher than the rates collected on German internal services for the same distance, under the same conditions of speed and comfort.

The tariffs applicable under the same conditions of speed and comfort to the transportation of emigrants going to or coming from ports of the Allied and Associated Powers and using the German railways, shall not be at a higher kilometer rate than the most favorable tariffs (drawbacks and rebates being taken into account) enjoyed on the said railways by emigrants going to or coming from any other ports.

ARTICLE 368.—Germany shall not apply specially to such through services or to the transportation of emigrants going to or coming from the ports of the Allied and Associated Powers, any technical, fiscal or administrative measures, such as measures of customs examination, general police, sanitary police, and control, the result of which would be to impede or delay such services.

ARTICLE 369.—In case of transport partly by rail and partly by internal navigation, with or without through way-bill, the preceding Articles shall apply to the part of the journey performed by rail.

CHAPTER II.—ROLLING STOCK

ARTICLE 370.—Germany undertakes that German wagons shall be fitted with apparatus allowing:

(1) of their inclusion in goods trains on the lines such of the Allied and Associated Powers as are parties to the Berne Convention of May 15, 1886, as modified on May 18, 1907, without hampering the action of the continuous brake which may be adopted in such countries within ten years of the coming into force of the present treaty, and

(2) of the acceptance of wagons of such countries in all goods trains on the German lines.

The rolling stock of the Allied and Associated Powers shall enjoy on the German lines the same treatment as German rolling stock as regards movement, upkeep and repairs.

CHAPTER III.—CESSIONS OF RAILWAY LINES

ARTICLE 371.—Subject to any special provisions concerning the cession of ports, waterways and railways situated in the territories over which Germany abandons her sovereignty, and to the financial conditions

relating to the concessionaires and the pensioning of the personnel, the cession of railways will take place under the following conditions:

1. The works and installations of all the railroads shall be handed over complete and in good condition.

2. When a railway system possessing its own rolling-stock is handed over in its entirety by Germany to one of the Allied and Associated Powers, such stock shall be handed over complete, in accordance with the last inventory before November 11th, 1918, and in a normal state of upkeep.

3. As regards lines without any special rolling-stock, commissions of experts designated by the Allied and Associated Powers, on which Germany shall be represented, shall fix the proportion of the stock existing on the system to which those lines belong to be handed over. These commissions shall have regard to the amount of material registered on these lines in the last inventory before November 11th, 1918, the length of track (sidings included), and the nature and amount of traffic. These commissions shall also specify the locomotives, carriages and wagons to be handed over in each case; they shall decide upon the conditions of their acceptance, and shall make the provisional arrangements necessary to insure their repair in German workshops.

4. Stocks of stores, fittings and plant shall be handed over under the same conditions as the rolling-stock.

The provisions of paragraphs 3 and 4 above shall be applied to the lines of former Russian Poland converted by Germany to the German gauge, such lines being regarded as detached from the Prussian State System.

CHAPTER IV.—PROVISIONS RELATING TO CERTAIN RAILWAY LINES

ARTICLE 372.—When as a result of the fixing of new frontiers a railway connection between two parts of the same country crosses another country, or a branch line from one country has its terminus in another, the conditions of working, if not specifically provided for in the present treaty, shall be laid down in a convention between the railway administrations concerned. If the administrations cannot come to an agreement as to the terms of such convention, the points of difference shall be decided by commissions of experts composed as provided in the preceding Article.

ARTICLE 373.—Within a period of five years from the coming into force of the present treaty the Czechoslovak State may require the construction of a railway line in German territory between the stations of Schlauney and Nachod. The cost of construction shall be borne by the Czechoslovak State.

ARTICLE 374.—Germany undertakes to accept, within ten years of the coming into force of the present treaty, on request being made by the Swiss Government after agreement with the Italian Government, the denunciation of the International Convention of the 13th October, 1909, relative to the St. Gothard railway. In the absence of agreement as to the conditions of such denunciation, Germany hereby agrees to accept the decision of an arbitrator designated by the United States of America.

CHAPTER V.—TRANSITORY PROVISIONS

ARTICLE 375.—Germany shall carry out the instructions given her, in regard to transport, by an authorized body acting on behalf of the Allied and Associated Powers:

1. For the carriage of troops under the provisions of the present treaty, and of material, ammunition and supplies for army use.

2. As a temporary measure, for the transportation of supplies for certain regions, as well as for the restoration, as rapidly as possible, of the normal conditions of transport, and for the organization of postal and telegraphic services.

SECTION IV.—*Disputes and Revision of Permanent Clauses*

ARTICLE 376.—Disputes which may arise between interested powers with regard to the interpretation and application of the preceding articles shall be settled as provided by the League of Nations.

ARTICLE 377.—At any time the League of Nations may recommend the revision of such of these Articles as relate to a permanent administrative régime.

ARTICLE 378.—The stipulations in Articles 321 to 330, 332, 365, and 367 to 369 shall be subject to revision by the Council of the League of Nations at any time after five years from the coming into force of the present treaty.

Failing such revision, no Allied or Associated Power can claim after the expiration of the above period of five years the benefit of any of the stipulations in the Articles enumerated above on behalf of any portion of its territories in which reciprocity is not accorded in respect of such stipulations. The period of five years during which reciprocity cannot be demanded may be prolonged by the Council of the League of Nations.

SECTION V.—*Special Provision*

ARTICLE 379.—Without prejudice to the special obligations imposed on her by the present treaty for the benefit of the Allied and Associated Powers, Germany undertakes to adhere to any general conventions regarding the international régime of transit, waterways, ports or railways which may be concluded by the Allied and Associated Powers, with the approval of the League of Nations, within five years of the coming into force of the present treaty.

SECTION VI.—*Clauses Relating to the Kiel Canal*

ARTICLE 380.—The Kiel Canal and its approaches shall be maintained free and open to the vessels of commerce and of war of all nations at peace with Germany on terms of entire equality.

ARTICLE 381.—The nationals, property,

and vessels of all powers shall, in respect to charges, facilities, and in all other respects, be treated on a footing of perfect equality in the use of the canal, no distinction being made to the detriment of nationals, property, and vessels of any power between them and the nationals, property, and vessels of Germany or of the most favored nations.

No impediment shall be placed on the movement of persons or vessels other than those arising out of police, customs, sanitary, emigration or immigration regulations, and those relating to the import or export of prohibited goods. Such regulations must be reasonable and uniform and must not unnecessarily impede traffic.

ARTICLE 382.—Only such charges may be levied on vessels using the canal or its approaches as are intended to cover in an equitable manner the cost of maintaining in a navigable condition, or if improving, the canal or its approaches, or to meet expenses incurred in the interests of navigation. The schedule of such charges shall be calculated on the basis of such expenses, and shall be posted up in the ports.

These charges shall be levied in such a manner as to render any detailed examination of cargoes unnecessary, except in the case of suspected fraud or contravention.

ARTICLE 383.—Goods in transit may be placed under seal or in the custody of customs agents; the loading and unloading of goods, and the embarkation and disembarkation of passengers, shall only take place in the ports specified by Germany.

ARTICLE 384.—No charge of any kind other than those provided for in the present treaty shall be levied along the course or at the approaches of the Kiel Canal.

ARTICLE 385.—Germany shall be bound to take suitable measures to remove any obstacle or danger to navigation, and to insure the maintenance of good conditions of navigation. She shall not undertake any works of a nature to impede navigation on the canal or its approaches.

ARTICLE 386.—In the event of violation of any of the conditions of Articles 380 to 386, or of disputes as to the interpretation of these articles, any interested power can appeal to the jurisdiction instituted for the purpose by the League of Nations.

In order to avoid reference of small questions to the League of Nations, Germany will establish a local authority at Kiel qualified to deal with disputes in the first instance and to give satisfaction so far as possible to complaints which may be presented through the consular representatives of the interested powers.

PART XIII.—Labor

SECTION I.—*Organization of Labor*

WHEREAS the League of Nations has for its object the establishment of universal peace and such a peace can be established only if it is based upon social justice;

And whereas conditions of labor exist involving such injustice, hardship, and privation to large numbers of people as to produce unrest so great that the peace and harmony of the world are imperiled; and an improvement of those conditions is urgently required: as, for example, by the regulations of the hours of work, including the estab-

lishment of a maximum working day and week, the regulation of the labor supply, the prevention of unemployment, the provision of an adequate living wage, the protection of the worker against sickness, disease, and injury arising out of his employment, the protection of the children, young persons, and women, provision for old age and injury, protection of the interests of workers when employed in countries other than their own, recognition of the principle of freedom of association, the organization of vocational and technical education, and other measures:

Whereas also the failure of any nation to adopt humane conditions of labor is an ob-

stacle in the way of other nations which desire to improve the conditions in their own countries;

The high contracting parties, moved by sentiments of justice and humanity as well as by the desire to secure the permanent peace of the world, agree to the following:

CHAPTER I.—ORGANIZATION

ARTICLE 387.—A permanent organization is hereby established for the promotion of the objects set forth in the preamble.

The original members of the League of Nations shall be the original members of this organization, and hereafter membership of the League of Nations shall carry with it membership of the said organization.

ARTICLE 388.—The permanent organization shall consist of:

(i) a General Conference of Representatives of the Members, and,

(ii) an International Labor Office controlled by the governing body described in Article 393.

ARTICLE 389.—The meetings of the General Conference of Representatives of the Members shall be held from time to time as occasion may require, and at least once in every year. It shall be composed of four representatives of each of the members, of whom two shall be Government delegates and the two others shall be delegates representing respectively the employers and the workpeople of each of the members.

Each delegate may be accompanied by advisers, who shall not exceed two in number for each item on the agenda of the meeting. When questions specially affecting women are to be considered by the conference, one at least of the advisers should be a woman.

The members undertake to nominate non-Government delegates and advisers chosen in agreement with the industrial organizations, if such organizations exist, which are most representative of employers or workpeople, as the case may be, in their respective countries.

Advisers shall not speak except on a request made by the delegate whom they accompany and by special authorization of the President of the conference, and may not vote.

A delegate may by notice in writing addressed to the President appoint one of his advisers to act as his deputy, and the adviser, while so acting, shall be allowed to speak and vote.

The names of the delegates and their advisers will be communicated to the International Labor Office by the Government of each of the members.

The credentials of delegates and their advisers shall be subject to scrutiny by the conference, which may, by two-thirds of the votes cast by the delegates present, refuse to admit any delegate or adviser whom it deems not to have been nominated in accordance with this article.

ARTICLE 390.—Every delegate shall be entitled to vote individually on all matters which are taken into consideration by the conference.

If one of the members fails to nominate one of the non-Government delegates whom it is entitled to nominate, the other non-Government delegates shall be allowed to sit and speak at the conference, but not to vote.

If, in accordance with Article 389, the conference refuses admission to a delegate of one of the members, the provisions of

the present article shall apply as if that delegate had not been nominated.

ARTICLE 391.—The meetings of the conference shall be held at the seat of the League of Nations, or at such other place as may be decided by the conference at a previous meeting by two-thirds of the votes cast by the delegates present.

ARTICLE 392.—The International Labor Office shall be established at the seat of the League of Nations as part of the organization of the League.

ARTICLE 393.—The International Labor Office shall be under the control of a governing body consisting of twenty-four persons, appointed in accordance with the following provisions:

The governing body of the International Labor Office shall be constituted as follows:

Twelve persons representing the Governments;

Six persons elected by the delegates to the conference representing the employers;

Six persons elected by the delegates to the conference representing the workers.

Of the twelve persons representing the Governments, eight shall be nominated by the members which are of the chief industrial importance, and four shall be nominated by the members selected for the purpose by the Government delegates to the conference excluding the delegates of the eight members mentioned above.

Any question as to which are the members of the chief industrial importance shall be decided by the council of the League of Nations.

The period of office of the members of the governing body will be three years. The method of filling vacancies and other similar questions may be determined by the governing body, subject to the approval of the conference.

The governing body shall, from time to time, elect one of its members to act as its Chairman, shall regulate its own procedure, and shall fix its own times of meeting. A special meeting shall be held if a written request to that effect is made by at least ten members of the governing body.

ARTICLE 394.—There shall be a Director of the International Labor Office, who shall be appointed by the governing body, and, subject to the instructions of the Governing Body, shall be responsible for the efficient conduct of the International Labor Office and for such other duties as may be assigned to him.

The Director or his deputy shall attend all meetings of the governing body.

ARTICLE 395.—The staff of the International Labor Office shall be appointed by the Director, who shall, as far as is possible with due regard to the efficiency of the work of the Office, select persons of different nationalities. A certain number of these persons shall be women.

ARTICLE 396.—The functions of the International Labor Office shall include the collection and distribution of information on all subjects relating to the international adjustment of conditions of industrial life and labor, and particularly the examination of subjects which it is proposed to bring before the conference with a view to the conclusion of international conventions, and the conduct of such special investigations as may be ordered by the conference.

It will prepare the agenda for the meetings of the conference.

It will carry out the duties required of it by the provisions of this part of the present treaty in connection with international disputes.

It will edit and publish in French and English, and in such other languages as the governing body may think desirable, a periodical paper dealing with problems of industry and employment of international interest.

Generally, in addition to the functions set out in this Article, it shall have such other powers and duties as may be assigned to it by the conference.

ARTICLE 397.—The Government departments of any of the members which deal with questions of industry and employment may communicate directly with the Director through the representative of their Government on the governing body of the International Labor Office, or, failing any such representative, through such other qualified official as the Government may nominate for the purpose.

ARTICLE 398.—The International Labor Office shall be entitled to the assistance of the Secretary-General of the League of Nations in any matter in which it can be given.

ARTICLE 399.—Each of the members will pay the traveling and subsistence expenses of its delegates and their advisers and of its representatives attending the meetings of the conference or governing body, as the case may be.

All the other expenses of the International Labor Office and of the meetings of the conference or governing body shall be paid to the Director by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations out of the general funds of the League.

The Director shall be responsible to the Secretary-General of the League for the proper expenditure of all moneys paid to him in pursuance of this Article.

CHAPTER II.—PROCEDURE

ARTICLE 400.—The agenda of all meetings of the conference will be settled by the governing body, who shall consider any suggestion as to the agenda that may be made by the Government of any of the members or by any representative organization recognized for the purpose of Article 389.

ARTICLE 401.—The Director shall act as the Secretary of the Conference, and shall transmit the agenda so as to reach the members four months before the meeting of the conference, and, through them, the non-Government delegates when appointed.

ARTICLE 402.—Any of the Governments of the members may formally object to the inclusion of any item or items in the agenda. The grounds for such objection shall be set forth in a reasoned statement addressed to the Director, who shall circulate it to all the members of the permanent organization.

Items to which such objection has been made shall not, however, be excluded from the agenda if at the conference a majority of two-thirds of the votes cast by delegates present is in favor of considering them.

If the conference decides (otherwise than under the preceding paragraph) by two-thirds of the votes cast by the delegates present that any subject shall be considered by the conference, that subject shall be included in the agenda for the following meeting.

ARTICLE 403.—The conference shall regulate its own procedure, shall elect its own President, and may appoint committees to consider and report on any matter.

Except as otherwise expressly provided in this part of the present treaty, all matters shall be decided by a simple majority of the votes cast by the delegates present.

The voting is void unless the total number of votes cast is equal to half the number of the delegates attending the conference.

ARTICLE 404.—The conference may add to any committees which it appoints technical experts, who shall be assessors without power to vote.

ARTICLE 405.—When the conference has decided on the adoption of proposals with regard to an item in the agenda, it will rest with the conference to determine whether these proposals should take the form: (a) of a recommendation to be submitted to the members for consideration with a view to

effect being given to it by national legislation or otherwise, or (b) of a draft international convention for ratification by the members.

In either case a majority of two-thirds of the votes cast by the delegates present shall be necessary on the final vote for the adoption of the recommendation or draft convention, as the case may be, by the conference.

In framing any recommendation or draft convention of general application the conference shall have due regard to those countries in which climatic conditions, the imperfect development of industrial organization or other special circumstances make the industrial conditions substantially different and shall suggest the modifications, if any, which it considers may be required to meet the case of such countries.

A copy of the recommendation or draft convention shall be authenticated by the signature of the President of the conference and of the Director and shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the League of Nations. The Secretary-General will communicate a certified copy of the recommendation or draft convention to each of the members.

Each of the members undertakes that it will, within the period of one year at most from the closing of the session of the conference, or if it is impossible owing to exceptional circumstances to do so within the period of one year, then at the earliest practicable moment and in no case later than eighteen months from the closing of the session of the conference, bring the recommendation or draft convention before the authority or authorities within whose competence the matter lies, for the enactment of legislation or other action.

In the case of a recommendation the members will inform the Secretary-General of the action taken.

In the case of a draft convention, the member will, if it obtains the consent of the authority or authorities within whose competence the matter lies, communicate the formal ratification of the convention to the Secretary-General and will take such action as may be necessary to make effective the provisions of such convention.

If on a recommendation no legislative or other action is taken to make a recommendation effective, or if the draft convention fails to obtain the consent of the authority or authorities within whose competence the matter lies, no further obligation shall rest upon the member.

In the case of a federal state, the power of which to enter into conventions on labor matters is subject to limitations, it shall be in the discretion of that Government to treat a draft convention to which such limitations apply as a recommendation only, and the provisions of this article with respect to recommendations shall apply in such case.

The above Article shall be interpreted in accordance with the following principle:

In no case shall any member be asked or required, as a result of the adoption of any recommendation or draft convention by the conference to lessen the protection afforded by its existing legislation to the workers concerned.

ARTICLE 406.—Any convention so ratified shall be registered by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, but shall only be binding upon the members which ratify it.

ARTICLE 407.—If any convention coming before the conference for final consideration fails to secure the support of two-thirds of the votes cast by the delegates present, it shall nevertheless be within the right of any of the members of the permanent organization to agree to such convention among themselves.

Any convention so agreed to shall be communicated by the Governments concerned to

the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, who shall register it.

ARTICLE 408.—Each of the members agrees to make an annual report to the International Labor Office on the measures which it has taken to give effect to the provisions of conventions to which it is a party. These reports shall be made in such form and shall contain such particulars as the governing body may request. The Director shall lay a summary of these reports before the next meeting of the conference.

ARTICLE 409.—In the event of any representation being made to the International Labor Office by an industrial association of employers or of workers that any of the members has failed to secure in any respect the effective observance within its jurisdiction of any convention to which it is a party, the Governing Body may communicate this representation to the Government against which it is made and may invite that Government to make such statement on the subject as it may think fit.

ARTICLE 410.—If no statement is received within a reasonable time from the Government in question, or if the statement when received is not deemed to be satisfactory by the Governing Body, the latter shall have the right to publish the representation and the statement, if any, made in reply to it.

ARTICLE 411.—Any of the members shall have the right to file a complaint with the International Labor Office if it is not satisfied that any other member is securing the effective observance of any convention which both have ratified in accordance with the foregoing articles.

The Governing Body may, if it thinks fit, before referring such a complaint to a Commission of Inquiry, as hereinafter provided for, communicate with the Government in question in the manner described in Article 409.

If the Governing Body does not think it necessary to communicate the complaint to the Government in question, or if, when they have made such communication, no statement in reply has been received within a reasonable time which the Governing Body considers to be satisfactory, the Governing Body may apply for the appointment of a Commission of Inquiry to consider the complaint and to report thereon.

The Governing Body may adopt the same procedure either of its own motion or on receipt of a complaint from a Delegate to the Conference.

When any matter arising out of Articles 410 or 411 is being considered by the Governing Body, the Government in question shall, if not already represented thereon, be entitled to send a representative to take part in the proceedings of the Governing Body while the matter is under consideration. Adequate notice of the date on which the matter will be considered shall be given to the Government in question.

ARTICLE 412.—The Commission of Inquiry shall be constituted in accordance with the following provisions:

Each of the members agrees to nominate within six months of the date on which the present Treaty comes into force three persons of industrial experience, of whom one shall be a representative of employers, one a representative of workers, and one a person of independent standing, who shall together form a panel from which the members of the Commission of Inquiry shall be drawn.

The qualifications of the persons so nominated shall be subject to scrutiny by the Governing Body, which may by two-thirds of the votes cast by the representatives present refuse to accept the nomination of any person whose qualifications do not in its opinion comply with the requirements of the present article.

Upon the application of the Governing

Body, the Secretary-General of the League of Nations shall nominate three persons, one from each section of this panel, to constitute the Commission of Inquiry, and shall designate one of them as the President of the commission. None of these three persons shall be a person nominated to the panel by any member directly concerned in the complaint.

ARTICLE 413.—The members agree that, in the event of the reference of a complaint to a commission of inquiry under Article 411, they will each, whether directly concerned in the complaint or not, place at the disposal of the commission all the information in their possession which bears upon the subject-matter of the complaint.

ARTICLE 414.—When the Commission of Inquiry has fully considered the complaint, it shall prepare a report embodying its findings on all questions of fact relevant to determining the issue between the parties and containing such recommendations as it may think proper as to the steps which should be taken to meet the complaint and the time within which they should be taken.

It shall also indicate in this report the measures, if any, of an economic character against a defaulting Government which it considers to be appropriate, and which it considers other Governments would be justified in adopting.

ARTICLE 415.—The Secretary-General of the League of Nations shall communicate the report of the Commission of Inquiry to each of the Governments concerned in the complaint, and shall cause it to be published.

Each of these Governments shall within one month inform the Secretary-General of the League of Nations whether or not it accepts the recommendations contained in the report of the Commission; and if not, whether it proposes to refer the complaint to the Permanent Court of International Justice of the League of Nations.

ARTICLE 416.—In the event of any member failing to take the action required by Article 405, with regard to a recommendation or draft convention, any other member shall be entitled to refer the matter to the Permanent Court of International Justice.

ARTICLE 417.—The decision of the Permanent Court of International Justice in regard to a complaint or matter which has been referred to it in pursuance of Article 415 or Article 416 shall be final.

ARTICLE 418.—The Permanent Court of International Justice may affirm, vary or reverse any of the findings or recommendations of the Commission of Inquiry, if any, and shall in its decision indicate the measures, if any, of an economic character which it considers to be appropriate, and which other Governments would be justified in adopting against a defaulting Government.

ARTICLE 419.—In the event of any member failing to carry out within the time specified the recommendations, if any, contained in the report of the Commission of Inquiry, or in the decision of the Permanent Court of International Justice, as the case may be, any other member may take against that member the measures of an economic character indicated in the report of the Commission or in the decision of the Court as appropriate to the case.

ARTICLE 420.—The defaulting Government may at any time inform the Governing Body that it has taken the steps necessary to comply with the recommendations of the Commission of Inquiry or with those in the decision of the Permanent Court of International Justice, as the case may be, and may request it to apply to the Secretary-General of the League to constitute a commission of Inquiry to verify its contention. In this case the provisions of Articles 412, 413, 414, 415, 417 and 418 shall apply, and if the report of the Commission of Inquiry or the

decision of the Permanent Court of International Justice is in favor of the defaulting Government, the other Governments shall forthwith discontinue the measures of an economic character that they have taken against the defaulting Government.

CHAPTER III.—GENERAL

ARTICLE 421.—The members engage to apply conventions which they have ratified in accordance with the provisions of this part of the present treaty to their colonies, protectorates, and possessions which are not fully self-governing:

1. Except where owing to the local conditions the convention is inapplicable, or

2. Subject to such modifications as may be necessary to adapt the convention to local conditions.

And each of the members shall notify to the International Labor Office the action taken in respect of each of its colonies, protectorates, and possessions which are not fully self-governing.

ARTICLE 422.—Amendments to this part of the present treaty which are adopted by the Conference by a majority of two-thirds of the votes cast by the delegates present shall take effect when ratified by the States whose representatives compose the Council of the League of Nations and by three-fourths of the members.

ARTICLE 423.—Any question or dispute relating to the interpretation of this part of the present treaty or of any subsequent convention concluded by the members in pursuance of the provisions of this part of the present treaty shall be referred for decision to the Permanent Court of International Justice.

CHAPTER IV.—TRANSITORY PROVISIONS

ARTICLE 424.—The first meeting of the Conference shall take place in October, 1919. The place and agenda for this meeting shall be as specified in the Annex hereto.

Arrangements for the convening and the organization of the first meeting of the Conference will be made by the Government designated for the purpose in the said Annex. That Government shall be assisted in the preparation of the documents for submission to the Conference by an International Committee constituted as provided in the said Annex.

The expenses of the first meeting and of all subsequent meetings held before the League of Nations has been able to establish a general fund, other than the expenses of delegates and their advisers, will be borne by the members in accordance with the apportionment of the expenses of the International Bureau of the Universal Postal Union.

ARTICLE 425.—Until the League of Nations has been constituted all communications which under the provisions of the foregoing articles should be addressed to the Secretary-General of the League will be preserved by the Director of the International Labor Office, who will transmit them to the Secretary-General of the League.

ARTICLE 426.—Pending the creation of a Permanent Court of International Justice, disputes which in accordance with this part of the present treaty would be submitted to it for decision will be referred to a tribunal of three persons appointed by the Council of the League of Nations.

ANNEX

First Meeting of Annual Labor Conference, 1919

The place of meeting will be Washington.

The Government of the United States of America is requested to convene the conference.

The International Organizing Committee

will consist of seven members, appointed by the United States of America, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Belgium, and Switzerland. The committee may, if it thinks necessary, invite other members to appoint representatives.

Agenda:

1. Application of principle of the 8-hours day or of the 48-hours week.

2. Question of preventing or providing against unemployment.

3. Women's employment:

(a) Before and after childbirth, including the question of maternity benefit.

(b) During the night.

(c) In unhealthy processes.

4. Employment of children:

(a) Minimum age of employment.

(b) During the night.

(c) In unhealthy processes.

5. Extension and application of the International Conventions adopted at Berne in 1906 on the prohibition of night work for women employed in industry and the prohibition of the use of white phosphorus in the manufacture of matches.

SECTION II.—General Principles

ARTICLE 427.—The High Contracting Parties, recognizing that the well-being, physical, moral, and intellectual, of industrial wage earners is of supreme international importance, have framed, in order to further this great end, the permanent machinery provided for in Section I. and associated with that of the League of Nations.

They recognize that differences of climate, habits, and customs, of economic opportunity and industrial tradition, make strict uniformity in the conditions of labor difficult of immediate attainment. But, holding as they do, that labor should not be regarded merely as an article of commerce, they think that there are methods and principles for regulating labor conditions which all industrial communities should endeavor to apply, so far as their special circumstances will permit.

Among these methods and principles, the following seem to the High Contracting Parties to be of special and urgent importance:

First—The guiding principle above enunciated that labor should not be regarded merely as a commodity or article of commerce.

Second—The right of association for all lawful purposes by the employed as well as by the employers.

Third—The payment to the employed of a wage adequate to maintain a reasonable standard of life as this is understood in their time and country.

Fourth—The adoption of an eight hours day or a forty-eight hours week as the standard to be aimed at where it has not already been attained.

Fifth—The adoption of a weekly rest of at least twenty-four hours, which should include Sunday wherever practicable.

Sixth—The abolition of child labor and the imposition of such limitations on the labor of young persons as shall permit the continuation of their education and assure their proper physical development.

Seventh—The principle that men and women should receive equal remuneration for work of equal value.

Eighth—The standard set by law in each country with respect to the conditions of labor should have due regard to the equitable economic treatment of all workers lawfully resident therein.

Ninth—Each State should make provision for a system of inspection in which women should take part in order to insure the enforcement of the laws and regulations for the protection of the employed.

Without claiming that these methods and principles are either complete or final, the

High Contracting Parties are of opinion that they are well fitted to guide the policy of the League of Nations; and that, if adopted by the industrial communities who are mem-

bers of the League, and safeguarded in practice by an adequate system of such inspection, they will confer lasting benefits upon the wage earners of the world.

PART XIV.—Guarantees

SECTION I.—*Western Europe*

ARTICLE 428.—As a guarantee for the execution of the present treaty by Germany, the German territory situated to the west of the Rhine, together with the bridgeheads, will be occupied by Allied and Associated troops for a period of fifteen years from the coming into force of the present treaty.

ARTICLE 429.—If the conditions of the present treaty are faithfully carried out by Germany, the occupation referred to in Article 428 will be successively restricted as follows:

(i) At the expiration of five years there will be evacuated:—the bridgehead of Cologne and the territories north of a line running along the Ruhr, then along the railway Jülich, Düren, Euskirchen, Rheinbach, thence along the road Rheinbach to Sinzig, and reaching the Rhine at the confluence with the Ahr; the roads, railways and places mentioned above being excluded from the area evacuated.

(ii) At the expiration of ten years, there will be evacuated:—the bridgehead of Coblenz and the territories north of a line to be drawn from the intersection between the frontiers of Belgium, Germany and Holland, running about 4 kilometers south of Aix-la-Chapelle, then to and following the crest of Forst Gemünd, then east of the railway of the Urft Valley, then along Blankenheim, Valdorf, Dreis, Ulmen to and following the Moselle from Bremm to Nehren, then passing by Kappel and Simmern, then following the ridge of the heights between Simmern and the Rhine and reaching this river at Bacharach; all the places, valleys, roads and railways mentioned above being excluded from the area evacuated.

(iii) At the expiration of fifteen years there will be evacuated:—the bridgehead of Mainz, the bridgehead of Kehl and the remainder of the German territory under occupation.

If at that date the guarantees against unprovoked aggression by Germany are not

considered sufficient by the Allied and Associated Governments the evacuation of the occupying troops may be delayed to the extent regarded as necessary for the purpose of obtaining the required guarantees.

ARTICLE 430.—In case either during the occupation or after the expiration of the fifteen years referred to above, the Reparation Commission finds that Germany refuses to observe the whole or part of her obligations under the present treaty with regard to reparation, the whole or part of the areas specified in Article 429 will be re-occupied immediately by the Allied and Associated forces.

ARTICLE 431.—If before the expiration of the period of fifteen years Germany complies with all the undertakings resulting from the present treaty, the occupying forces will be withdrawn immediately.

ARTICLE 432.—All matters relating to the occupation and not provided for by the present treaty shall be regulated by subsequent agreements, which Germany hereby undertakes to observe.

SECTION II.—*Eastern Europe*

ARTICLE 433.—As a guarantee for the execution of the provisions of the present treaty, by which Germany accepts definitely the abrogation of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty, and of all treaties, conventions and agreements entered into by her with the Maximalist Government in Russia, and in order to insure the restoration of peace and good government in the Baltic Provinces and Lithuania, all German troops at present in the said territories shall return to within the frontiers of Germany as soon as the Governments of the principal Allied and Associated Powers shall think the moment suitable, having regard to the internal situation of these territories. These troops shall abstain from all requisitions and seizures and from any other coercive measures, with a view to obtaining supplies intended for Germany, and shall in no way interfere with such measures for national defense as may be adopted by the provisional Governments of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

No other German troops shall, pending the evacuation or after the evacuation is complete, be admitted to the said territories.

PART XV.—Miscellaneous Provisions

ARTICLE 434.—Germany undertakes to recognize the full force of the treaties of peace and additional conventions which may be concluded by the Allied and Associated Powers with the powers who fought on the side of Germany, and to recog-

nize whatever disposition may be made concerning the territories of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, of the Kingdom of Bulgaria, and of the Ottoman Empire, and to recognize the new States within their frontiers as there laid down.

ARTICLE 435.—The high contracting parties, while they recognize the guarantees stipulated by the treaties of 1815, and especially by the Act of 20th November, 1815, in favor of Switzerland, the said guarantees constituting international obligations for the maintenance of peace, declare nevertheless that the provisions of these treaties, conventions, declarations and other supplementary acts concerning the neutralized zone of Savoy, as laid down in paragraph 1 of Article 92 of the Final Act of the Congress of Vienna, and in paragraph 2 of Article 3 of the Treaty of Paris of 20th November, 1815, are no longer consistent with present conditions. For this reason the high contracting parties take note of the agreement reached between the French Government and the Swiss Government for the abrogation of the stipulations relating to this zone which are and remain abrogated.

The high contracting parties also agree that the stipulations of the treaties of 1815 and of the other supplementary acts concerning the free zones of Upper Savoy and the Gex district are no longer consistent with present conditions, and that it is for France and Switzerland to come to an agreement together with a view to settling between themselves the status of these territories under such conditions as shall be considered suitable by both countries.

ANNEX

1. The Swiss Federal Council has informed the French Government on the 5th May, 1919, that after examining the provisions of Article 435 in a like spirit of sincere friendship it has happily reached the conclusion that it was possible to acquiesce in it under the following conditions and reservations:

First—The neutralized zone of Haute-Savoie:

(a) It will be understood that as long as the Federal Chambers have not ratified the agreement come to between the two Governments concerning the abrogation of the stipulations in respect of the neutralized zone of Savoy nothing will be definitely settled, on one side or the other, in regard to this subject.

(b) The assent given by the Swiss Government to the abrogation of the above-mentioned stipulations presupposes, in conformity with the text adopted, the recognition of the guarantees formulated in favor of Switzerland by the treaties of 1815 and particularly by the declaration of 20th November, 1815.

(c) The agreement between the Governments of France and Switzerland for the abrogation of the above-mentioned stipulations will only be considered as valid if the treaty of peace contains this article in its present wording. In addition, the parties to the treaty of peace should endeavor to obtain the assent of the signatory powers of the treaties of 1815 and of the declaration of 20th November, 1815, which are not signatories of the present treaty of peace.

Second—Free zone of Haute-Savoie and the district of Gex.

(a) The Federal Council makes the most express reservations to the interpretation to be given to the statement mentioned in the last paragraph of the above article for insertion in the treaty of peace, which provides that "the stipulations of the treaties of 1815 and other supplementary acts concerning the free zones of Haute-Savoie and the Gex district are no longer consistent with the present conditions." The Federal Council would not wish that its acceptance of the above wording should lead to the conclusion that it would agree to the suppression of a system intended to give neighboring territory the benefit of a special régime which is appropriate to the geographical and economical situation and which has been well tested.

In the opinion of the Federal Council the question is not the modification of the customs system of the zones as set up by the treaties mentioned above, but only the regulation in a manner more appropriate to the economic conditions of the present day of the terms of the exchange of goods between the regions in question. The Federal Council has been led to make the preceding observations by the perusal of the draft convention concerning the future constitution of the zones, which was annexed to the note of April 26 from the French Government. While making the above reservations the Federal Council declares its readiness to examine in the most friendly spirit any proposals which the French Government may deem it convenient to make on the subject.

(b) It is conceded that the stipulations of the treaties of 1815 and other supplementary acts relative to the free zones will remain in force until a new arrangement is come to between France and Switzerland to regulate matters in this territory.

2. The French Government have addressed to the Swiss Government, on May 18, 1919, the following note in reply to the communication set out in the preceding paragraph:

In a note dated May 5 the Swiss Legation in Paris was good enough to inform the Government of the French Republic that the Federal Government adhered to the proposed article to be inserted in the Treaty of Peace between the Allied and Associated Governments and Germany.

The French Government have taken note with much pleasure of the agreement thus reached, and, at their request, the proposed article, which had been accepted by the Allied and Associated Governments, has been inserted under No. 435 in the peace conditions presented to the German plenipotentiaries.

The Swiss Government, in their note of May 5, on this subject, have expressed various views and reservations.

Concerning the observations relating to the free zones of Haute-Savoie and the Gex district, the French Government have the honor to observe that the provisions of the last paragraph of Article 435 are so clear that their purport cannot be misapprehended, especially where it implies that no other power but France and Switzerland will in future be interested in that question.

The French Government, on their part, are anxious to protect the interests of the French territories concerned, and, with that object, having their special situation in view, they bear in mind the desirability of assuring them a suitable customs régime and determining, in a manner better suited to present conditions, the methods of exchanges between these territories and the adjacent Swiss territories, while taking into account the reciprocal interests of both regions.

It is understood that this must in no way prejudice the right of France to adjust her customs line in this region in conformity with her political frontier, as is done on the other portions of her territorial boundaries, and as was done by Switzerland long ago on her own boundaries in this region.

The French Government are pleased to note on this subject in what a friendly disposition the Swiss Government take this opportunity of declaring their willingness to consider any French proposal dealing with the system to be substituted for the present régime of the said free zones, which the French Government intend to formulate in the same friendly spirit.

Moreover, the French Government have no doubt that the provisional maintenance of the régime of 1815 as to the free zones referred to in the above-mentioned paragraph of the note from the Swiss Legation of May 5, whose object is to provide for the passage from the present régime to the conventional régime, will cause no delay whatsoever in the establishment of the new situation which has been found necessary by the two Governments. This remark applies also to the ratification by the Federal Chambers, dealt with in Paragraph 1 (a), of the Swiss note of May 5, under the heading "Neutralized Zone of Haute-Savoie."

ARTICLE 436.—The high contracting parties declare and place on record that they have taken note of the treaty signed by the Government of the French Republic on July 17th, 1918, with His Serene Highness the Prince of Monaco defining the relations between France and the Principality.

ARTICLE 437.—The high contracting parties agree that, in the absence of a subsequent agreement to the contrary, the Chairman of any commission established by the present treaty shall, in the event of an equality of votes, be entitled to a second vote.

ARTICLE 438.—The Allied and Associated Powers agree that where Christian religious missions were being maintained by German societies or persons in territory belonging to them, or of which the government is entrusted to them in accordance with the present treaty, the property which these missions or missionary societies possessed, including that of trading societies whose profits were devoted to the support of missions, shall continue to be devoted to missionary purposes. In order to insure the due execution of this undertaking the Allied and Associated Governments will hand over such property to boards of trustees appointed by or approved by the Governments and composed of persons holding the faith of the mission whose property is involved.

The Allied and Associated Governments, while continuing to maintain full control as to the individuals by whom the missions are conducted, will safeguard the interests of such missions.

Germany, taking note of the above undertaking, agrees to accept all arrangements

made or to be made by the Allied or Associated Government concerned for carrying on the work of the said missions or trading societies and waives all claims on their behalf.

ARTICLE 439.—Without prejudice to the provisions of the present treaty, Germany undertakes not to put forward directly or indirectly against any Allied or Associated Power, signatory of the present treaty, including those which without having declared war, have broken off diplomatic relations with the German Empire, any pecuniary claim based on events which occurred at any time before the coming into force of the present treaty.

The present stipulation will bar completely and finally all claims of this nature, which will be thenceforward extinguished, whoever may be the parties in interest.

ARTICLE 440.—Germany accepts and recognizes as valid and binding all decrees and orders concerning German ships and goods and all orders relating to the payment of costs made by any prize court of any of the Allied or Associated Powers, and undertakes not to put forward any claim arising out of such decrees or orders on behalf of any German national.

The Allied and Associated Powers reserve the right to examine in such manner as they may determine all decisions and orders of German Prize Courts, whether affecting the property rights of nationals of those powers or of neutral powers. Germany agrees to furnish copies of all the documents constituting the record of the cases, including the decisions and orders made, and to accept and give effect to the recommendations made after such examination of the cases.

The present treaty, of which the French and English texts are both authentic, shall be ratified.

The deposit of ratifications shall be made at Paris as soon as possible.

Powers of which the seat of the Government is outside Europe will be entitled merely to inform the Government of the French Republic through their diplomatic representative at Paris that their ratification has been given; in that case they must transmit the instrument of ratification as soon as possible.

A first procès-verbal of the deposit of ratifications will be drawn up as soon as the treaty has been ratified by Germany on the one hand, and by three of the principal Allied and Associated Powers on the other hand.

From the date of the first procès-verbal the treaty will come into force between the high contracting parties who have ratified it. For the determination of all periods of time provided for in the present treaty this date will be the date of the coming into force of the treaty.

In all other respects the treaty will enter into force for each power at the date of the deposit of its ratification.

The French Government will transmit to all the signatory powers a certified copy of the procès-verbaux of the deposit of ratifications.

IN FAITH WHEREOF the above-named plenipotentiaries have signed the present treaty.

DONE AT VERSAILLES, in a single copy which will remain deposited in the archives of the French Republic, and of which authenticated copies will be transmitted to each of the signatory powers.

INTERNATIONAL CARTOONS OF THE WAR

[French Cartoon]

L'Arc de Triomphe

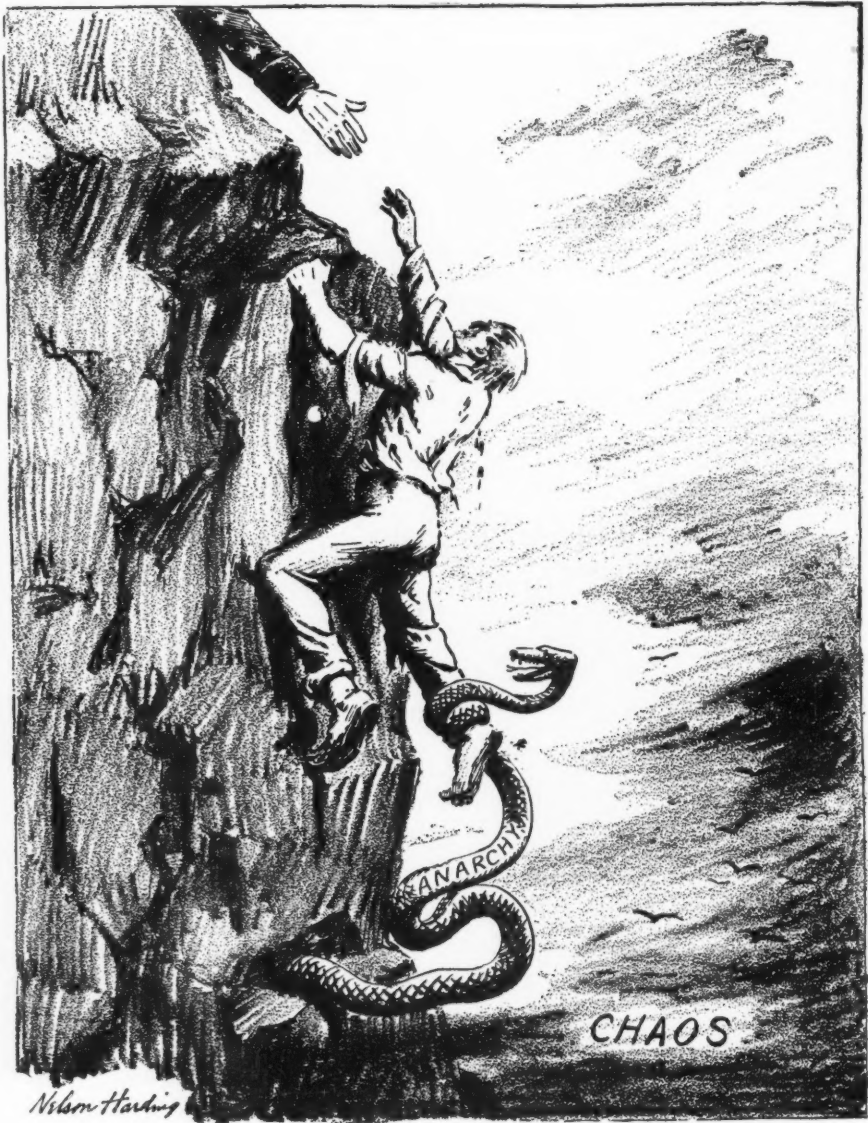


—From *Pêle-Mêle*, Paris.

"They might well have made it a little higher, however."

[American Cartoon]

Europe



—From The Brooklyn Eagle.

[English Cartoon]

Dangerous Idealism



Drawn by Leo Cheney.

—From *Passing Show*, London.

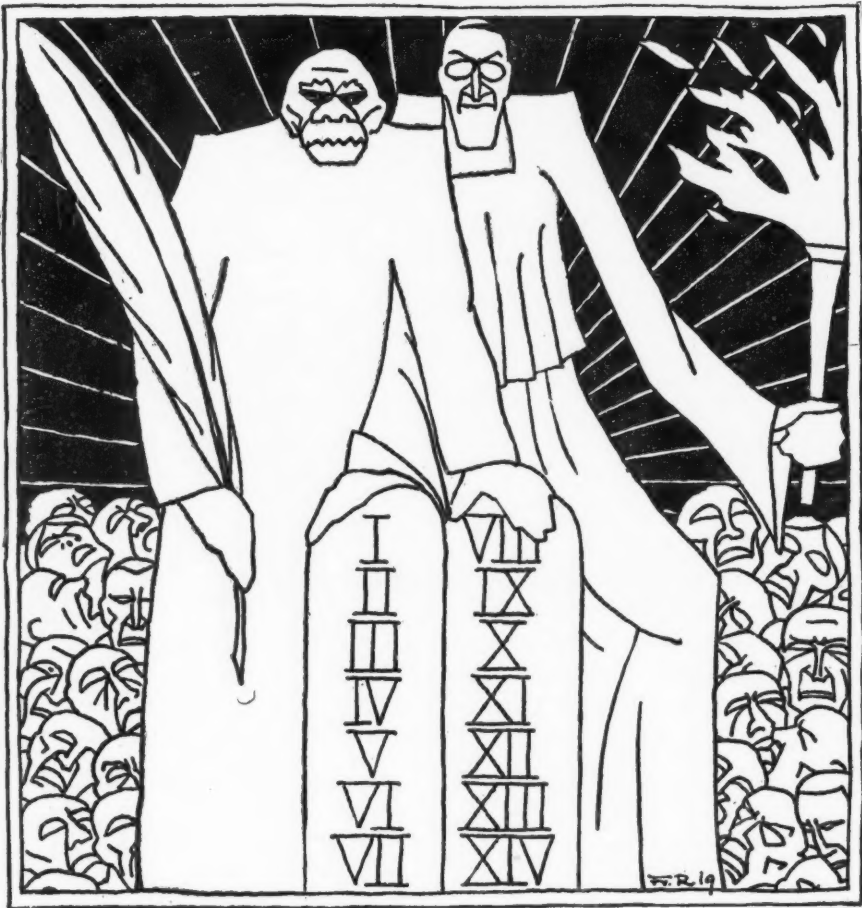
THE IDEALISTS: "If you keep the tiger behind those bars it will continue to hate you."

JOHN BULL: "And what if I release it, my Lambkins?"

THE IDEALISTS: "Well, we think it might learn to eat from your hand."

[German-Swiss Cartoon]

The Benefactors of Mankind



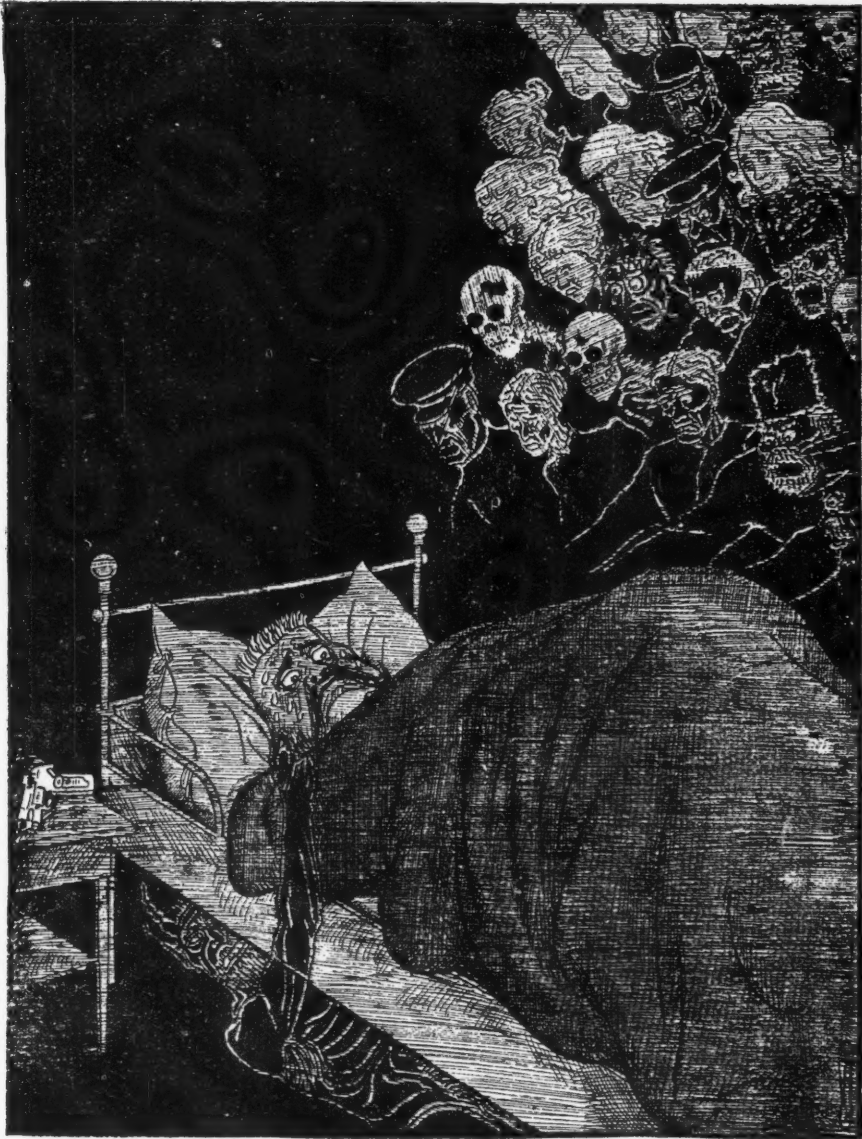
—From *Nebelspalter*, Zurich.

CLEMENCEAU: "A relic am I of the distant Stone Age,
My record is written on History's page;
I ate up the peace my own wrath to assuage."

WILSON: "My Points you took on to no purpose, I guess,
For even the veriest fool must confess
We've succeeded in putting the world in a mess."

[Norwegian Cartoon]

Nightmare



—From Hvepsen, Christiania.

That Hindenburg has positively refused to write his war memoirs does not surprise us in the least.

[Italian Cartoon]

The Conquerors

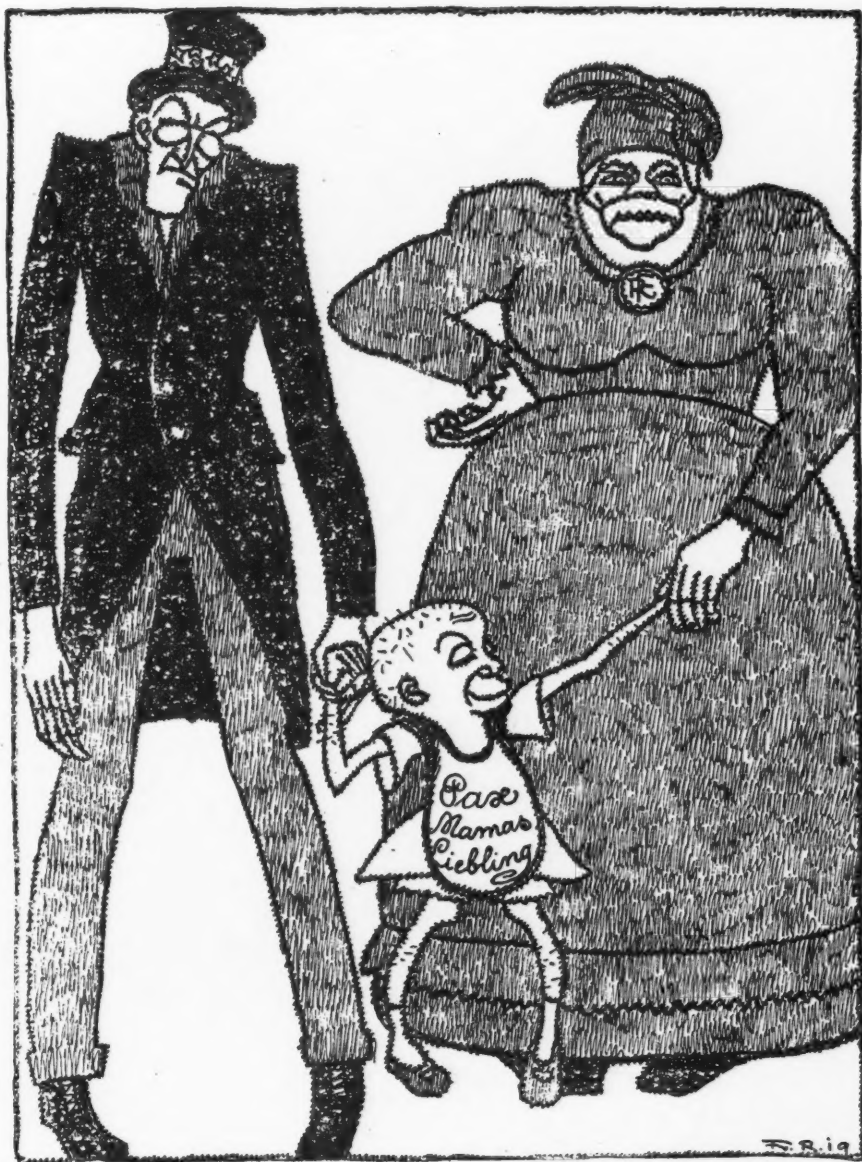


—From *L'Asino*, Rome.

[An anti-capitalist lampoon on the Peace Treaty]

[German-Swiss Cartoon]

The Peace Abortion



—From *Nebelspalter*, Zurich.

The Wilson-Clemenceau Peace, or the Offspring of an Unhappy Union.

[Dutch Cartoon]

Germany's Counteroffer



CLEMENCEAU (as Seine
side bookseller): "The price
is marked inside, I accept no
reduction."

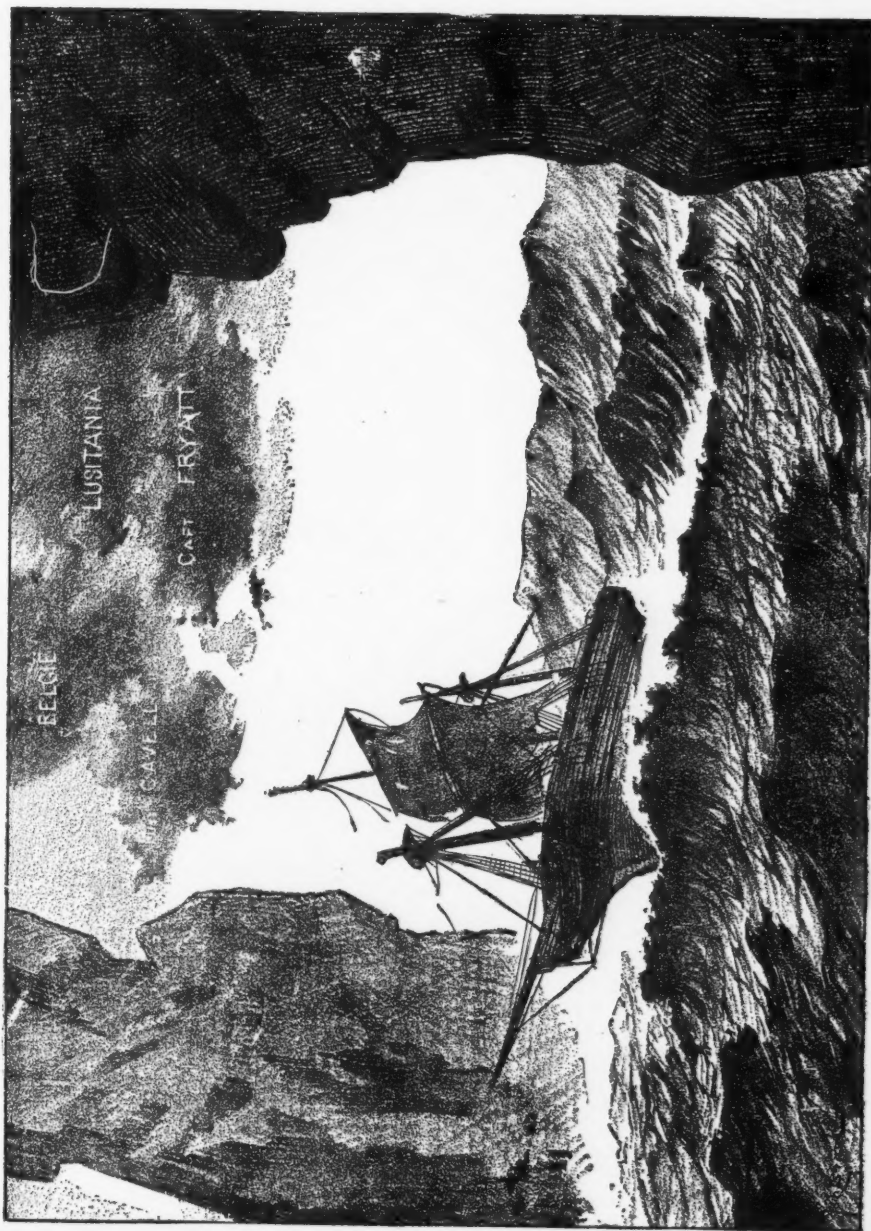
—From *De Amsterdamer*,
Amsterdam.

[Dutch Cartoon]

Germany Between Scylla and Charybdis

Will she go through
or go down?

—From
De Amsterdammer,
Amsterdam.



[American Cartoons]

Let George Do It



—San Francisco Chronicle.

Prohibition



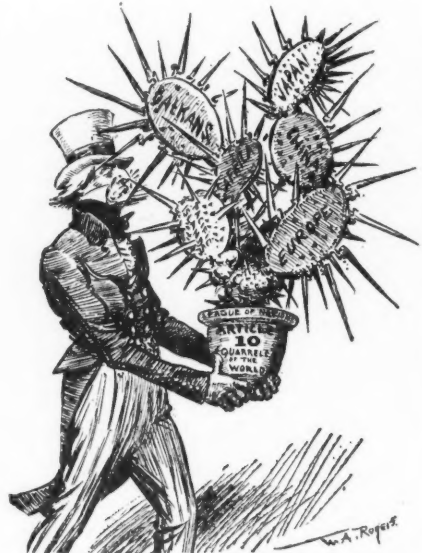
—New York World.

A Forthcoming Turkey-Trot



—Memphic Commercial Appeal.

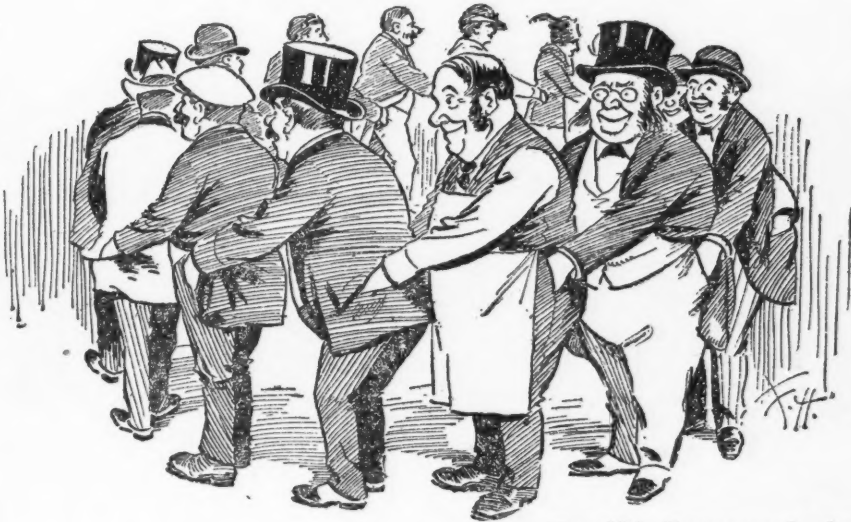
A Few Points on Article 10



—New York Herald.

[English Cartoon]

Everybody's Doing It!

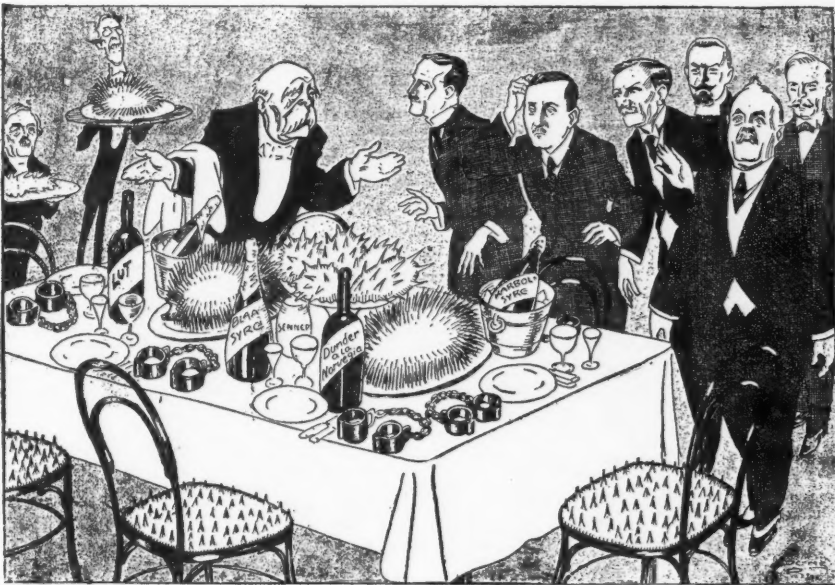


—From Reynolds's Newspaper, London.

The Vicious Circle. Who's going to be the first to break away?

[Norwegian Cartoon]

At the Peace Table

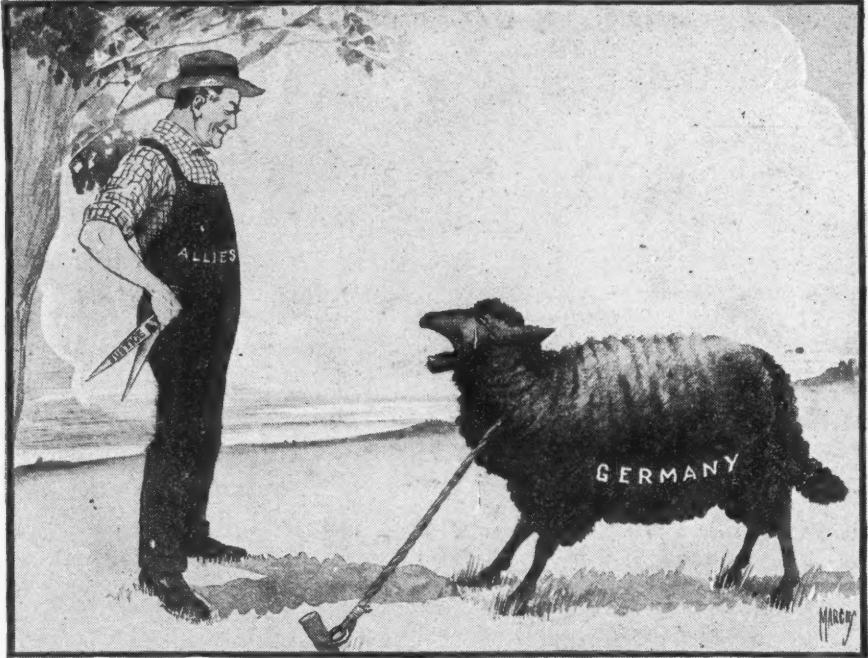


—From Hvepsen, Christiania.

CLEMENCEAU (to the German delegates): "Take your seats, gentlemen!"

[American Cartoon]

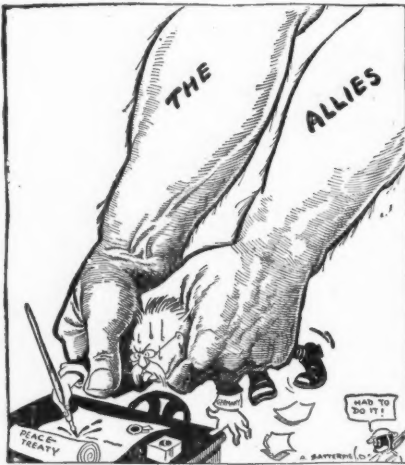
Ba, Ba, Black Sheep, Says She Has No Wool



—From *The New York Times*.

[American Cartoon]

By Force of Arms



—*Newspaper Enterprise Ass'n, Cleveland*.

[Italian Cartoon]

Concealed Under the Wilsonian Peace



—*Il 420, Florence*.

[The tail is labeled "Jugoslav Policy"]